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MR ROOSEVELT

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MR ROOSEVELT

by

COMPTON MACKENZIE

WITH
24 PLATES IN COLOUR
82 ILLUSTRATIONS IN
BLACK & WHITE
AND
4 SYNCHRONISTIC CHARTS



GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD.
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NORTHAMPTON

PREFACE

THE biography of a living man whose work is not yet accomplished is one of the most unsatisfactory tasks to which the pen can be applied, and I feel I owe an apology for having applied my pen to such a task. In the case of Mr Roosevelt a biographical attempt is particularly dangerous because he is himself drawing near to the crisis of his wonderful career, and so wholehearted an admirer of that career as myself must write in continuous dread of doing even the most trifling disservice by so much as a shadow of indiscreet controversy.

Therefore except in the most general way I have deliberately refrained from discussing Mr Roosevelt's actions after he was elected President of the United States in 1932. I have written my book for British readers, and it seemed to me that what British readers ought to know is the kind of marble from which the statue of the President is still in process of being carved. The more I have read about Mr Roosevelt the more firmly convinced have I grown of his immense power for good in this distracted world of to-day, and if I have succeeded in expressing something of that conviction I shall feel justified in having broken the wise rule that a writer should not entangle himself with contemporary biography. It will be the second occasion on which I have broken that rule, and in both cases the inspiration has been a fervid desire to affirm my own belief in a man's value to his time.

I have to thank Professor I. Treiman, of Washington University, St Louis, for an invaluable bibliography of material for a study of my subject, and my great regret is that the difficulties of war-time have prevented my availing myself of that as much as I should have done in a period more propitious to study. In the end I have had to rely on comparatively meagre material.

My first acknowledgments are due to Mr Ernest K. Lindley, whose books about Mr Roosevelt have been of such inestimable service that this acknowledgment of my indebtedness to them is sadly inadequate. My advice to those who wish to learn much more about Mr Roosevelt, particularly from the American point of view, than I could hope to teach them is to read those books themselves. It goes without saying that Mrs Roosevelt's autobiography, *The Lady of the White House*, is of prime importance, and, by a free use of direct quotation, I have tried to avoid spoiling the quality of her frankness. That autobiography stops when her husband becomes a national figure, and I have not ventured to trespass beyond the boundary she has, for the time being, set by any attempt to examine and evaluate her own profound influence upon the world of to-day.

Finally, there are the nine volumes of *The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, edited by S. Rosenman, which cover Mr Roosevelt's public activity from the time he was elected Governor of New York in 1929 until he was elected President for a third term in 1940. The ablest editor, and Judge Rosenman is a superlatively good editor, could not hope to present a piece of propaganda portraiture on a scale like this merely by judicious omission. No great man's reputation could survive such a weight of documentary material if there were any doubt of his greatness. Public speeches on major occasions, extempore remarks on minor occasions, letters, Press conferences, radio talks, and annotations by the President himself—all these are drawn upon to present a statesman's almost daily progress through ten years. The sum total of the work must amount to nearly two million words. I meditate with a shudder upon the effect of reading nearly two million words uttered or written in ten years by any other contemporary statesman. I have toiled through Lenin as far as the English translation of his speeches, letters, and articles has reached. I have even dragged my way through the morass of Hitler's collected speeches. Of neither the one nor the other could greatness be postulated merely on the evidence of the word, written or spoken.

Perhaps the most remarkable quality of *The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt* is its consistency. Indeed, perhaps that is the most remarkable quality of the President's life as a whole. It is not so much consistency of opinion that I mean as consistency of character. No man of mark should be expected to display a steady consistency of opinion, for that would imply a deficiency of imagination; but we have a right to demand that a man of mark should not suggest a personal irresponsibility or expediency when he changes his mind. Mr Lloyd

George's Irish policy, for instance, was a repudiation of what a student of his career was compelled to believe was his own fundamental creed. No such betrayal of his essential self is discernible in Mr Roosevelt's statesmanship.

This is not trying to dodge the fact that some millions of Americans declare passionately that Mr Roosevelt has betrayed his essential self by his outrages against essential Americanism. It is not for a writer on this side of the Atlantic to argue that question. British readers who wish to understand why Americans criticize Mr Roosevelt and what the answer is to such criticism are advised to study Mr Gerald W. Johnson's extremely well informed and admirably expounded biographical study of the President. It is important to try to grasp why Mr Roosevelt has so many opponents, because in the event of his being succeeded by another American statesman while we are still fighting this war we may have to readjust ourselves to a development of American opinion along what will seem new lines.

Those of us in Britain and the Dominions who have the deepest respect for Mr Roosevelt's statesmanship respect him not so much because he is able to appreciate the British point of view as because he has a so much clearer grasp of the world as a whole than any other statesman now in power. If the United States follows the example of Britain during the nineteenth century and decides that it cannot afford to be too much mixed up with the rest of the world we shall look to our own earlier behaviour for an explanation of such a decision and we shall have no right to resent it.

COMPTON MACKENZIE

SUIDHEACHAN

ISLE OF BARRA

OUTER HEBRIDES

May 1943

TO
BRYHER

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The following books have been of particular help to me .

The Rise of American Civilization, by Charles and Mary Beard; *The Trail of the Forgotten Man*, by J. H. Guilfoyle; *Franklin D. Roosevelt's Colonial Ancestors*, by A. P. Johnson; *Roosevelt*, by G. W. Johnson; *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Half-way with Roosevelt*, by Ernest K. Lindley; *The Lady of the White House*, by Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt; *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, edited by S. Rosenman; *The Odyssey of an American Family*, by Hall Roosevelt; and *My Boy Franklin*, by Mrs James Roosevelt.

PLATES IN COLOUR

	PAGE
NEW AMSTERDAM, 1671 <i>By courtesy of the Parker Galleries, London</i>	18
AMSTERDAM <i>By courtesy of Vicens Bros, London</i>	19
ISAAC ROOSEVELT (1726-94)	30
JAMES ROOSEVELT I (1760-1847)	31
ISAAC ROOSEVELT (1790-1863)	48
JAMES ROOSEVELT (1828-1900)	49
MAIDEN LANE IN 1700, NEW YORK FROM THE NORTH	64
BOWLING GREEN, ABOUT 1820	65
WARREN DELANO (1809-98)	80
Mrs JAMES ROOSEVELT (SARAH DELANO) (1854-1941)	81
GROTON CAMPUS <i>By courtesy of the photographer, Itan Dmitri, New York</i>	96
HARVARD COLLEGE AND OLD CAMBRIDGE	97
A VIEW OF CAMPOBELLO ISLAND AT THE ENTRANCE OF PASSAMAQUODDY BAY, ca. 1777	128
THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1858-1919)	129
THOMAS WOODROW WILSON (1856-1924)	144
THE HUDSON AT HYDE PARK	145
ST JAMES CHURCH IN HYDE PARK	160
A VIEW OF THE HYDE PARK MANSION	161
THE STATE DINING-ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	171
ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809-65)	171
Mrs JAMES ROOSEVELT (SARAH DELANO) (1854-1941)	199
Mrs ANNA ELEANOR ROOSEVELT	199
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT	201
THE THIRD INAUGURATION <i>By courtesy of "The Philadelphia Inquirer"</i>	201

LIST OF BLACK-AND-WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT ON HIS FATHER'S SHOULDER <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	14
PANIC IN WALL STREET	17
JAMES ROOSEVELT <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	21
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AT THE AGE OF THREE <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	23
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AGED EIGHT <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	25
JAMES AND SARA ROOSEVELT	27
THE FOOTBALL TEAM AT GROTON SCHOOL <i>International News Photograph</i>	28
THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY (1898)	31
OUTSIDE A RECRUITING OFFICE AT THE TIME OF THE BLOWING UP OF THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE" IN HAVANA HARBOUR	33
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AT GROTON SCHOOL	34
HARVARD UNIVERSITY : MASSACHUSETTS HALL <i>By courtesy of the Harvard University</i>	37
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT IN 1903 OR 1904	39
F.D.R. AS THE PRESIDENT OF "THE HARVARD CRIMSON" <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	41
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT IN 1888 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	43
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT ON HER WEDDING DAY <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	45
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, IN HIS OFFICE, 1897	51
THE BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES IN MANILA, 1899	53
F.D.R. ABOUT 1907 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	54
MRS ELEANOR ROOSEVELT ABOUT 1907 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	55
MR AND MRS ROOSEVELT WITH THEIR CHILDREN ANNA AND JAMES	57
F.D.R. ABOUT 1911 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	63

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE	PAGE 68
<i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	
THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S PROTEST AGAINST THE "REACTIONARY COURT" OF IDAHO <i>From "Hearst's Magazine"</i>	73
A CARTOON ON THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF BELGIUM (1914-18) <i>From "Harper's Pictorial Library of the World War" (1920)</i>	83
THE TRAGEDY OF THE "LUSITANIA" <i>By courtesy of "New York Herald"</i>	85
THE PRESIDENT'S COTTAGE ON THE ESTATE IN HYDE PARK <i>Amateur Photograph by Mrs Margarete Suchley</i>	86
F.D.R. WITH HIS FAMILY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	89
F.D.R. IN CAMPOBELLO <i>Photograph by F. G. Mithken</i>	93
AMERICAN SOLDIERS DISEMBARKING AT BREST	98
WAR MATERIAL ARRIVED DAILY FROM AMERICA AT BREST	99
POSTER USED FOR THE MARINE RECRUITING CAMPAIGN, 1917 <i>From "Harper's Pictorial Library of the World War" (1920)</i>	101
THE LIBERTY LOAN, 1918 <i>From the Sesquicentennial Number of "The American Printer"</i>	103
ADMIRAL PLUNKET AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY F.D.R. NAVAL RAILWAY BATTERY, FRANCE, 1918	104
A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE COUNTRY IN FRONT OF THE AMERICAN LINE <i>From "Harper's Pictorial Library of the World War" (1920)</i>	105
FISHING IN SCOTLAND, SUMMER 1918	107
F.D.R. ARRIVES ON U.S.S. "TEXAS" IN THE FIRTH OF FORTH, 1918 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	108
ROOSEVELT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, WITH FRENCH NAVAL OFFICERS AND VICE-ADMIRAL WILSON AT BREST, 1918	109
ROOSEVELT WITH STAFF OFFICERS ON BOARD U.S.S. "GEORGE WASHINGTON," 1919 <i>By courtesy of "The European"</i>	110
ROOSEVELT WITH STAFF OFFICERS AT THE UNITED SERVICE BALL, ALBERT HALL, LONDON, JANUARY 1919 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	111
F.D.R. AND MRS ROOSEVELT AT THE RUINS OF SAINT-QUENTIN CATHEDRAL, FRANCE 1919	113
F.D.R. AS ACTING SECRETARY OF THE NAVY IN HIS OFFICE WITH ADMIRAL SIMS AND REAR-ADMIRAL J. S. MCKEAN, WASHINGTON, 1919	116
GOVERNOR COX AND F.D.R. <i>By courtesy of Harris & Eving</i>	119

	PAGE
'THE ROOSEVELLS' SUMMER HOUSE IN CAMPOBELLO <i>By courtesy of the Associated Screen News Ltd, Montreal</i>	124
F.D.R. WITH HIS SONS IN CAMPOBELLO ABOUT 1921 <i>Photograph by F. G. Miliken</i>	
THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY IN CAMPOBELLO ABOUT 1921 <i>Photograph by F. G. Miliken</i>	127
MALLOCK BEACH AND PIER, CAMPOBELLO <i>Photograph by R. H. Smythe, Sackville, N.B.</i>	133
LOUIS MCHENRY HOWE <i>By courtesy of the "New York Herald Tribune"</i>	137
KU KLUX KLAN TRIBUNAL IN 1871-72 <i>By courtesy of Acme Newspictures Inc.</i>	140
ONE OF THE TURBULENT MOMENTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION <i>By courtesy of Underwood & Underwood</i>	143
THE LITTLE WHITE HOUSE, WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	148
GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH <i>By courtesy of the "New York Times Magazine"</i>	153
CAMPAIGNING BY RADIO AND PLAN	163
F.D.R., GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, ADDRESSING THE AMERICAN COUNTRY CLUB CONFERENCE, AUGUST 1931 <i>By courtesy of the National Archives, Washington</i>	165
FIFTH FLOOR OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE <i>By courtesy of Kennedy and Company</i>	171
THE PRESIDENT'S DESK IN THE WHITE HOUSE <i>Photograph by Thomas D. McAvoy, from "Life"</i>	181
THE SUPREME COURT IN SESSION	189
'IF HE RIGHTLY INTERPRET NATIONAL THOUGHT AND BOLDLY INSIST UPON IT HE IS IRRESISTIBLE'	195
'DEMOCRACY STILL STANDS FIRM THOUGH THE DICTATORS HAVE ADDED GERMANY TO THEIR LIST'	197
ATTACK OF THE FUTURE	199
RESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET ON BOARD THE U.S.S. INDIANAPOLIS"	206
F.D.R. WITH HIS WIFE AND MOTHER IN THE LIBRARY, HYDE PARK <i>By courtesy of "Wide World"</i>	213
F.D.R. AND HIS SONS FISHING, 1937 <i>Photograph by Francis Miller, by courtesy of "Life"</i>	217
F.D.R. SPEAKING AT THE HYDE PARK LIBRARY ON OPENING DAY <i>Photograph by Dmitri Kessel, by courtesy of "Life"</i>	221

	PAGE
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT LEAVING FOR GEORGIA <i>Photograph by Thomas D. McAvoy</i>	223
THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY, CHRISTMAS 1939 <i>Photograph by Hansel Mieth, by courtesy of "Life"</i>	226
SECRETARY OF WAR H. H. WOODRUM, SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL, AND F.D.R. IN CONFERENCE	229
F.D.R. WITH HIS GRANDCHILDREN FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND JOHNNIE BOETIGER CHRISTMAS 1939	231
THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY AT THE OPENING OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 1, 1940 <i>By courtesy of the Press Association, Inc.</i>	234
MR AND MRS ROOSEVELT IN THEIR GARDEN AT HYDE PARK <i>By courtesy of "The March of Time"</i>	236
F.D.R. ON BOARD U.S.S. "TUSCALOOSA," 1940	239
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND M. MOLOTOV IN WASHINGTON, 1942	241
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY OF LIBERIA AT ROBERT'S FIELD, MONZOVIA, 1942 <i>Photograph by Army Air Forces, from Office of War Information</i>	242
ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL IN CASABLANCA, MARCH 1943 <i>U.S. Navy Photograph from Office of War Information</i>	243
TAILPIECES	
SILVER MODEL OF THE "MAYFLOWER"	24
HEAD HARBOUR LIGHT OFF CAMPOBELLO <i>Photograph by R. H. Smith, Sackville, N.B.</i>	94
THE "VIREO" IN CAMPOBELLO <i>Amateur Photograph by Mrs Margaret Suckley</i>	131
IN THE LITTLE WHITE HOUSE <i>By courtesy of "Life"</i>	157
IN THE F.D.R. LIBRARY, HYDE PARK <i>Photograph by Dmitri Kessel, by courtesy of "Life"</i>	167
THE JUGGERNAUT	187
"FOLLOW THE LEADER" <i>From "Saturday Evening Post," 1933</i>	201
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CAR IN WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA, 1938	215
"FALA," THE PRESIDENT'S DOG <i>Photograph by Thomas D. McAvoy, by courtesy of "Life"</i>	246
INDEX	247-256
FOUR SYNCHRONISTIC CHARTS	
"THE PASSING SCENE" (1880-1943)	257-272



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT ON HIS FATHER'S SHOULDER
Aged one and a half

CHAPTER I

THE biographer in search of the portents that attend the birth of a man of destiny must look for them in the contemporary scene of mundane politics for the birth of Franklin Delano Roosevelt on January 30, 1882. They are clear enough.

The year began in Germany by a repetition of those disgraceful outrages upon the Jews which show that Prussia, with all her boasted civilization, still retains the old medieval spirit of savage intolerance towards people of another race and religion.

That was the way in which the *Annual Register* had opened its survey of Germany for the year 1881.

There had been international tension over the French occupation of Tunisia in that year, and now in 1882 Bismarck was stirring up trouble over the possibility of an Anglo-French occupation of Egypt to safeguard the Suez Canal. Italy had been disappointed by the way Great Britain had left her in the lurch over Tunis, and "the disappointment . . . inclined both Government and people to look elsewhere for an ally, and made them ready to listen to those who were never weary of bidding the country turn to Germany . . . as the only Power in Europe whose interests were identical with the Italian."

Out of this disappointment Bismarck would forge the Triple Alliance.

To his critics in the French Chamber Gambetta would be saying three or four months hence :

"There are some people who view without apprehension the possibility of a conflict with England. I speak with a deep consciousness of the interests and welfare of my country, and it is with the deepest conviction, and no inconsiderable reflection as to the future, I repeat that to quarrel with England would be the most unjustifiable of adventures. . . . At the cost of the greatest sacrifices, never break off the English alliance. . . . French interests cannot be upheld without that accord. If there should be a rupture all is lost in the Mediterranean."

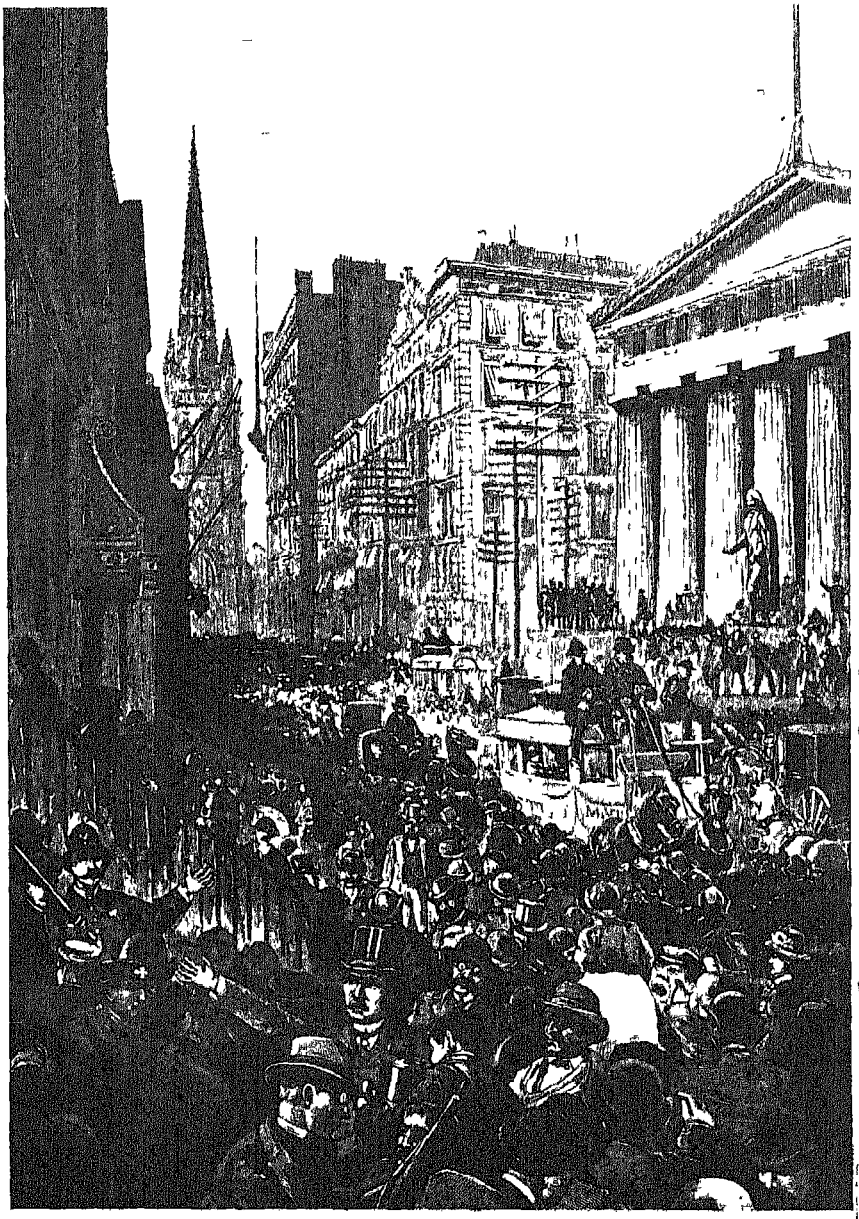
When Franklin Delano Roosevelt was hardly a fortnight old General Skobelev had to be disowned by the Russian Foreign Minister for giving an audience of Serbian students in Paris that a struggle between the Teuton and the Slav was inevitable and expressing a hope that he

would meet his hearers on the battlefield fighting against the common enemy. "The German is everywhere and everything in Russia. The Russians are the dupes of his policy, the victims of his intrigues, and the slaves to his strength." The General was summarily recalled to St Petersburg, and on the way home he told an audience of Poles in Warsaw that if there were not a Russian garrison in Warsaw there would be a German one. The hero of the Turkish war was cheered by the people of St Petersburg; but he was sharply reprimanded by the Tsar. However, Nihilist ideas were making "such alarming progress in all classes of Russian society" that the *Kölnische Zeitung's* comment on the grant of a Constitution was that the "great question which absorbed the minds of the Tsar and his counsellors was no longer how to govern well, but how to retain the power of governing at all."

Three months before Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born the hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown had been celebrated. At the close of the proceedings the Union Jack was saluted by the land and naval forces of the United States, "in trust and confidence of peace and goodwill between the two countries for all centuries to come."

This significant and happy ceremony took place just after President Garfield had been assassinated by a Chicago lawyer, obsessed by the idea that "the only way to unite the two factions of the Republican Party and save the Republic from going into the hands of the rebels and Democrats was to quietly remove the President." This he did with a revolver. The mad act of that disappointed place-hunter gave an added strength to the belief that the Civil Service must be rescued from the corruption of party politics, which in due course would develop into the belief that the Federal authority must assert itself for the dignity and efficiency of the nation. When that baby Roosevelt was just over two months old a fiery young kinsman of his, just elected to the New York Assembly, was trying to impeach Judge Westbrook in his own words "on the ground of corrupt collusion with Jay Gould and the prostitution of his high judicial office to serve the purpose of wealthy and unscrupulous stock gamblers." That was Theodore Roosevelt.

On the very day on which Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born a great financial house suspended payment and caused a severe financial crisis over the continent of Europe. Not in Great Britain, however. There Mr Gladstone in his Budget Speech would attribute to the mild winter the deficit of £85,000 on the "Death Duties," still in inverted commas as a novelty, and disappoint the rich by finding himself unable to reduce the income tax from fivepence in the pound to fourpence.



PANIC IN WALL STREET
Engraving from *Harper's Weekly* by Schell and Hogan, 1884

And for a final portent be it recorded that when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was six weeks old Colonel Burnaby, with a rug, some sandwiches, and a bottle of Apollinaris water, crossed the Channel in a balloon, achieving occasionally what was acclaimed as the remarkable speed of thirty miles an hour at a height of two thousand feet.

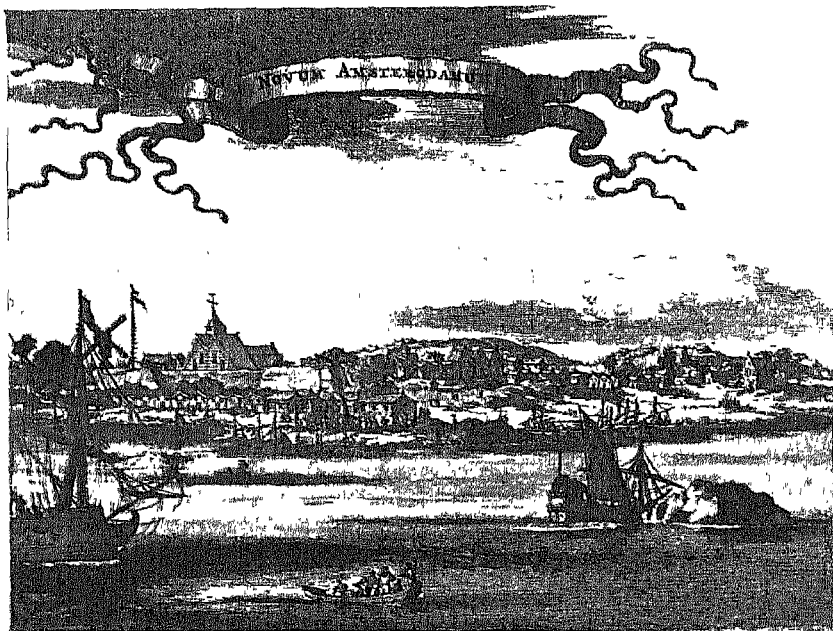
A year either way for the date on which that future President of the United States was born might not have mattered to the shaping of his ends ; but that was the utmost destiny could have allowed if he was to fulfil the task to which millions of the human race believe he has been dedicated. No man was ever more perfectly the product of his allotted time, and although such a statement is made while the man's task is still incomplete, it is made under the spur of a lively faith that the future will but confirm and establish the truth of it.

What is true of time is equally true of place. It is impossible to imagine that the part which destiny has chosen for this man to play in the tremendous drama of human evolution now being performed could be played except by an American and, what is more, by the kind of hundred-per-cent. American that Roosevelt is. Let it be remembered that Isolationism was a state of mind fostered as much by an uncomfortable sense of racial nearness to Europe as by the comfortable conviction of geographical distance.

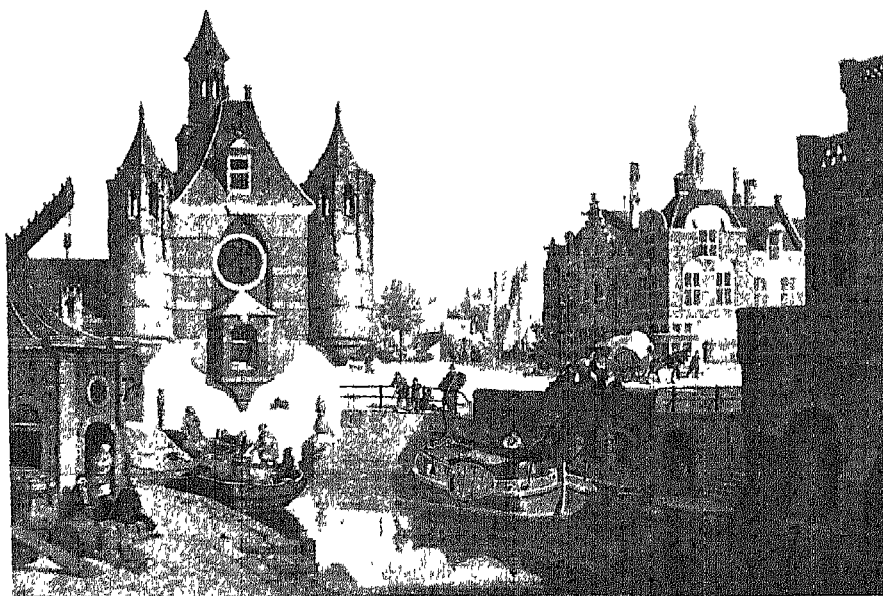
It was the very security of Roosevelt's American-ness which enabled him to recognize that with the achievement of nationhood his country could not afford to maintain an attitude toward the rest of the world based upon a hard-won and jealously guarded political independence. In his veins when he was born there was not a drop of American blood less than two centuries old : some of it was still older.

No city in Europe, not even Venice, seems threaded by the sea so pervasively as Amsterdam. The leaves of the elms which overhang the glassy bottle-green waters of the canals whisper of the ocean like shells. In the very heart of the city fat gulls like farmyard ducks on a pond glide lazily along. Warehouses already built when the Amsterdam Chamber was managing the affairs of the freshly constituted province of New Netherland across the Atlantic are still storing and unstoring produce beside those canals. Well was that settlement upon the island of Manhattan named New Amsterdam, for it too was pervaded by the ocean, and there to this day Rip Van Winkles of architecture still sleep in odd corners.

It was some time in that first quarter of the seventeenth century that from Amsterdam or another Dutch port a young Zeelander called Claes Martenzen (Nicholas, son of Martin) left the little village of



NEW AMSTERDAM, 1671
Coloured engraving



AMSTERDAM
Oil painting by J. H. Verheyden

Rosenvelt (Rosefield) for the new world. His son Nicholas, born on a farm, or *bouwerie*, in Manhattan, had two sons, Johannes (John) and Jacobus (James). From the elder of them Theodore Roosevelt was descended, from the younger Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It should be noted by British readers that the name of that village in Zeeland is preserved in the pronunciation of the surname to-day—'Rose-', not 'Roos-.' The senior line kept its Dutchness much longer than the junior line. The grandfather of Theodore, Cornelius Van Schaak Roosevelt, was of almost pure Dutch blood. Isaac Roosevelt, the grandfather of his fifth cousin Franklin, had a predominance of English blood with a remote admixture of Dutch, Swedish, German, and French blood.

There seems never to have been much hostility between the Dutch and English in America. New Amsterdam was accepted as cosmopolitan from the beginning. True, when word came in 1653 that Cromwell was preparing an expeditionary force against it a defensive wall was built across Manhattan, the construction of which is commemorated by the Wall Street of to-day; but when Charles II made his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, the Lord Proprietor of the territory between the Connecticut river and the east side of Delaware Bay, the Duke's representative and governor, Colonel Richard Nicolls, found the burgo-master of New Amsterdam and other prominent burghers most co-operative fifth-columnists. The transition from Dutch to English institutions was tactfully effected. The private rights of the Dutch were scrupulously honoured. New Netherland and New Amsterdam became the State of New York and the City of New York. Fort Orange, on the Hudson river, became Fort Albany. The fact of the matter was that even as early as the seventeenth century Dutch and English alike were determined to be Americans.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Isaac, the great-great-grandfather of Franklin D. Roosevelt, was a prominent citizen of New York, a sugar-merchant. He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress and played an active part in the struggle for independence. When New York was taken by the redcoats Isaac Roosevelt left his property in the city and moved to Dutchess County, where he served in the 6th Regiment of the Dutchess County Militia. He was a member of the New York State Senate from 1777 to 1783, and he was one of the citizens of New York who welcomed General Washington and his troops marching in along the Bowery on November 25, 1783, when the Union Jack was lowered and the Stars and Stripes was hoisted.

Isaac Roosevelt's son James married Maria Eliza Walton, the daughter of Abraham Walton, a prosperous merchant and shipowner.

Isaac Roosevelt among his other activities had been President of the Bank of New York. He was in every respect a man of business. James, his son, remained a man of business ; but perhaps the retreat from New York into Dutchess County during the War of Independence gave him a taste for country life. At any rate, he sold land in Harlem which might have laid the foundations for one of those immense fortunes of a century later and built himself a house on the Albany Post Road. James's son Isaac married Mary Rebecca Aspinwall, who brought two lines of descent from the passengers of the *Mayflower*. Isaac's son, James, born in 1828 and the father of Franklin, married first a Howland, by whom he had a son, James Roosevelt Roosevelt. Then his wife died, and the house on the Albany Post Road was burned.

James Roosevelt was still a New York business man ; but his heart was in the country, and when five hundred acres of that beautiful New York countryside above the Hudson at Hyde Park, in Dutchess County, came into the market he bought the farm and the old colonial farmhouse, and settled down as a country gentleman, with the help that solid investments and a few directorships can always give a country gentleman. He added a wing to the farmhouse and set out to make the farm pay its way. Then at the age of fifty-two he married Sara Delano (pronounced *Del'äno*). The mother of Franklin was one of the five handsome daughters of Warren Delano, a bride twenty-six years younger than her husband, and with an American pedigree just a little longer than his own.

In 1621 Philippe Dellanoye, born in Leyden of French parents, arrived in a small vessel at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and cast in his lot with the Pilgrims. His son Jonathan married Mercy, a daughter of Richard Warren, one of the signers of the Compact. Richard Warren's wife, with their five daughters, reached Plymouth in 1623 and outlived him by over forty years. At the age of seventy this evidently remarkable woman, who had the courage to remain a widow when widowhood was not approved, was buying land : and in 1673, says her epitaph, "*Mistris Elizabeth Warren an aged widow aged above 90 years haveing lived a Godly life Came to her Grave as a shok of Corn fully Ripe.*" The mother of Franklin had five lines of descent from that remarkable woman, and three lines from other passengers of the *Mayflower*.

The Delanos were shipowners and merchant-sailors, and the grandfather of Franklin was in the China trade. Sara Delano had sailed to Canton in a tea-clipper twenty years before her son was born. She had a handsome and much-loved uncle Franklin, after whom he was called. Unless Mrs James Roosevelt's heart had been set on having her baby son christened Franklin Delano he would have been due, in the Roose-



JAMES ROOSEVELT
The President's father about 1895

vult habit of family nomenclature, to be called Isaac. It is difficult not to feel a twinge of regret that he was not called Isaac. The name would have added a touch to the poetic justice which awaits Hitler.

In the whole line of Presidents of the United States only five of them before Franklin Delano Roosevelt had the blood of the Pilgrims in their veins, and Theodore Roosevelt was not one of them. Books have been filled with the tale of his colonial ancestors all of whom carried on the tale of sober vigour which was the original inspiration of the first of them who left Europe to found a new nation in a new world. None of them blazed a comet's trail across the sky, but on the other hand none of them in body or mind showed a trace of decline. The vitality which is the touchstone of true aristocracy in the making was always preserved and transmitted. That vitality is the characteristic of American blood; we can see what potency it has when it refreshes an aristocracy in decline like that of England. Mr Winston Churchill's ability to represent and express the spirit of England may be due less to his descent from Marlborough than to his American mother, and the time has given that paradox proof. Lord Randolph Churchill could hit out with words, but it was not the air of Blenheim which inspired Mr Churchill to stigmatize Mussolini as a hyena or Hitler as a blood-thirsty guttersnipe; it was the air of Manhattan. The spirit of Grandfather Leonard Jerome prompted Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill. Blenheim may provide the orotund periods: what gives them life are the side-walks of New York. And when to Mr Churchill's implication that Mussolini's breath stank of carrion the little Italian bullfrog croaked back that his own stank of alcohol and nicotine, the sardonic grin that such a retort would have evoked was framed in hickory, not oak. Those rejuvenescent draughts of offensiveness with which Mr Churchill vivifies us could never have been brewed by a Bonar Law, a Baldwin, a Ramsay MacDonald, or a Neville Chamberlain. They are mint julep, not weak tea or pale India ale. John Bull may be chewing a cigar instead of sucking a pipe, but he has not shaved his whiskers and grown a goatee. Britannia at war can safely offer in Mr Churchill what she wants the world to recognize as the outward and visible sign of her spirit; and the world at last has accepted him. It is not high-falutin' enthusiasm which dares to assert that Britain stands or falls with Mr Churchill; but that need not deter his admirers from admitting that the plumage of Mr Bullfinch has many feathers which might have come from the beefy American robin.

If by his eloquent abuse Mr Churchill disconcerts medicine-men like Hitler and Mussolini who had supposed that the English gentleman

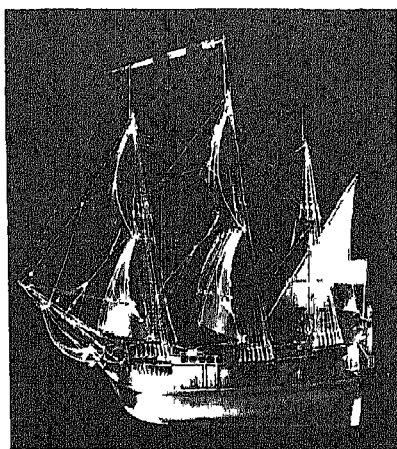


FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
At the age of three

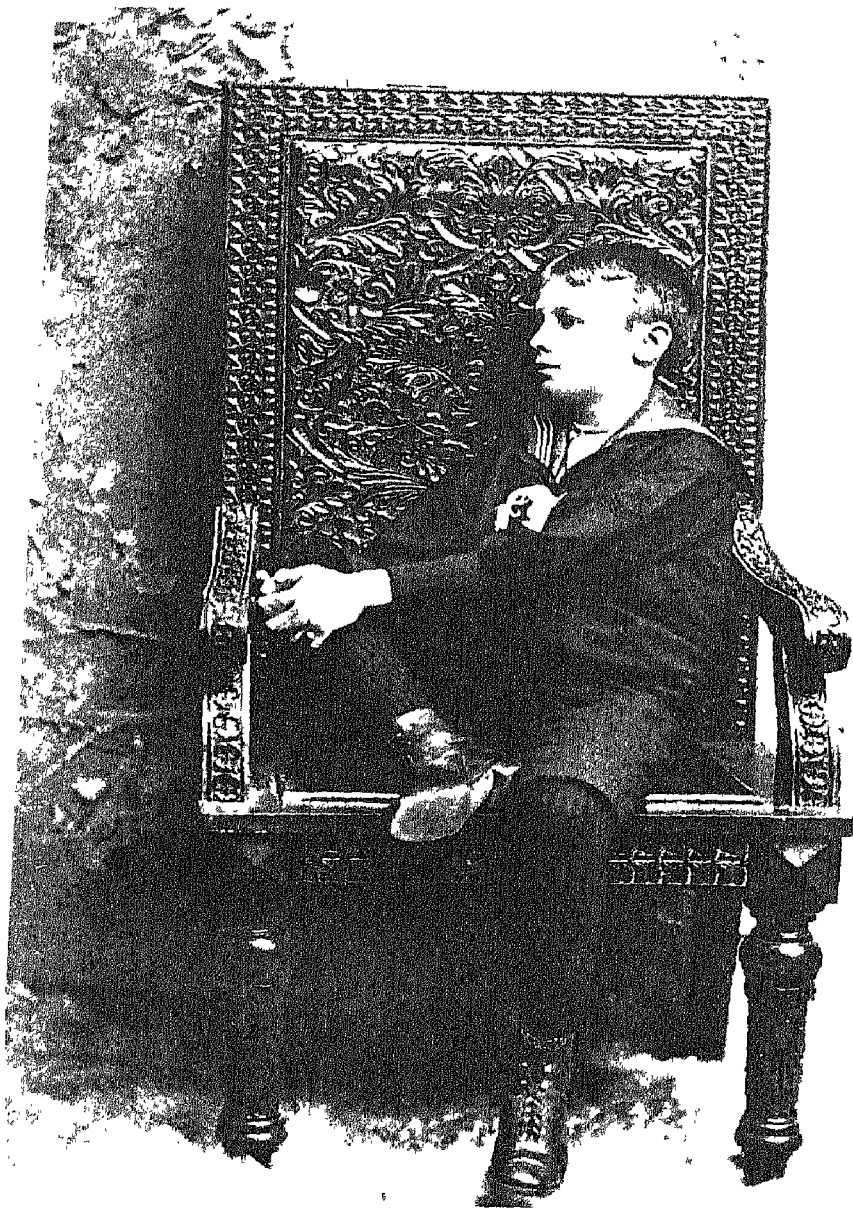
was by now afraid even of the vowels of his own language, Mr Roosevelt disconcerts them equally if not more by his failure to conform to their own uneducated and ill-informed notions of America. Neither Mussolini, who dreamed that his nightshirt was a toga, nor Hitler, who is kept awake by the conversation of Thor and Wotan, has any knowledge of America more than film-deep, and the background of Mr Roosevelt is beyond the imagination of two such cheapjacks of knowledge, two such water-beetles skating about over the surface of the great lake of history. They cannot understand that quiet and easy assumption of a self-evident superiority of moral status. Mussolini's forbears are lost in the fever-laden mists of the Romagna marshes, Hitler's in the swarming midden of Central Europe. To both of them the United States is merely a land to which rats have escaped from the sinking ship of Europe, and there grown plump : to neither of them is the United States a nation.

They are simply incapable of grasping that it is the inbred consciousness of the three centuries that went to make him an American which gives President Roosevelt the ability and the right to speak for a nation awake to the responsibility of preserving that European mosaic from fragments of which it suffered a sea-change into what is now something more than merely rich and strange.

Perhaps after all Hitler does divine that his major adversary is Roosevelt. When he declared, dervish-dancing with words, that he should direct the progress of man for a thousand years he may have apprehended that the real obstacle to his evolutionary plan was the spirit of the two Americas. Does Mr Roosevelt incarnate that spirit? The answer to that question will be this book's pursuit. We can laugh at Mussolini when he vaults over the 'dark backward and abysm of time' to dress up as Julius Caesar and fight a woad-dyed Churchill upon the beaches of Albion. Roosevelt and Hitler are engaged upon an evolutionary struggle: they are fighting for the spirit of man. They entered the arena almost simultaneously in January 1933, and this war is the clash of their two philosophies. Such an assertion may seem to accord an exaggerated dignity to Hitler; but he speaks for the German people, and therefore he cannot be laughed out of significance. Roosevelt and Hitler are fighting about the future: one half of Churchill (which is more than enough for such an adversary) is fighting Mussolini about the past.



A SILVER MODEL OF THE "MAYFLOWER"



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Aged eight

CHAPTER II

BROOKLYN Bridge in the golden fume of a wild autumn sunset out of which Manhattan rises dark as the castle of a huge enchanter; and below, the wash of the tide on which the traffic of the East River appears transmuted to the romantic and mysterious traffic in some great cloudy canvas of Turner, and everywhere a confusion of din that would be intolerable if it were not the perfect expression of that stupendous scene.

Riverside Drive, and the trees above the Palisades across the Hudson aflame in a blue October dusk, and Grant's tomb in the deepening darkness and silence.

A football match between West Point and Harvard, and an English smell of moist fallen leaves, and academic groves and buildings, and about them the atmosphere that haunts an Oxford college when sport has emptied it upon an autumn afternoon, and the wide silver river below.

The busy, cheerful main street of Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, and girls from Vassar going to the play, and the wide silver river below.

A market-day in Hudson, Columbia County, the streets of the little town thronged by straw-chewing farmers, and the wide silver river below.

Hilly Albany and the great State Capitol, and the Ten Eyck Hotel, with its slightly elaborate affectation of colonial antiquity by means of artificially aged beams and panelling, and still the wide silver river below.

Those are memories of Manhattan and the Hudson which come back from that autumn of 1912 when Franklin D. Roosevelt was working for the election of Woodrow Wilson to the Presidency. He and Mrs Roosevelt took a couple of rooms at the Ten Eyck Hotel that autumn, and it is a pity that a memory of them cannot be added to those other memories of the Hudson kept vividly in the mind's eye for thirty years. The present writer did not see the old colonial farmhouse at Hyde Park when he was in Poughkeepsie, but at least he could learn what a hold that river and its countryside might have upon a man through whose life, and through whose forbears' lives, flowed that majestic river.

Franklin Roosevelt's childhood was a happy one. His father loved him with something of a grandfather's fondness, but without a grandfather's spoiling. And his mother loved him as any young mother might be expected to love so good-looking and amenable an only son.



JAMES AND SARA ROOSEVELT

Taken by F D R. at St. Blasien, Germany, August 20, 1896

That mother has related one story of him which suggests that there were moments of boredom in a sheltered and well-regulated childhood. One day when he was about five he appeared sunk in a melancholy from which neither of his parents could extricate him. At last Mrs Roosevelt became a little alarmed and asked the boy whether he was unhappy. To quote :

He did not answer at once and then said very seriously, "Yes, I am unhappy."

When I asked him why, he was again silent for a moment or two. Then, with a curious little gesture that combined entreaty with a suggestion of impatience, he clasped his hands in front of him and exclaimed :

"Oh, for freedom !"

It seems funny now, but at the time I was honestly shocked. For all he was such a child, his voice had a desperate note that made me realize how seriously he said it.¹

¹ *My Boy Franklin*, by Mrs James Roosevelt (p. 5).



THE FOOTBALL TEAM AT GROTON SCHOOL
F.D.R., the central figure in the front row, was the Team Manager

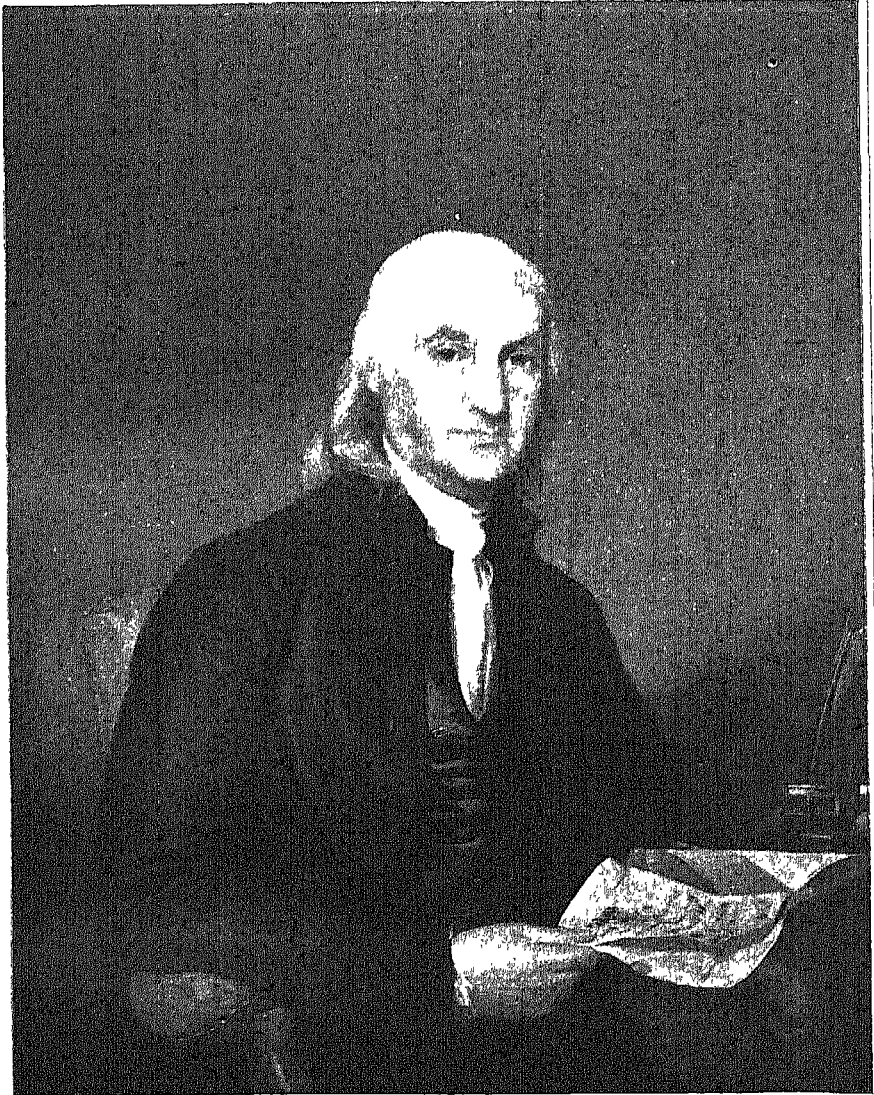
When we think of that Declaration of Independence which asserted as a self-evident truth that men had been endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, among which were Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, and when we remember the Four Freedoms of the Annual Message to Congress in January 1941, it is difficult not to attribute a certain portentousness to this utterance of a small boy in a sailor-suit in the year of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. No doubt the tyranny of which he complained was the tyranny of Time, who never fights on the side of children, and the tyranny of nursery rules which often cast the shadow of the prison-house even in earliest childhood. We who were children in England during the 'eighties used to think that our American cousins or friends enjoyed an amplitude of freedom compared with ourselves; and now we can feel grateful to that American couple whose mild but definitely firm discipline started in the young Franklin that divine discontent without which we might be contemplating a very grim future half a century later. Not that his childhood partook at all of the thwarting which was to become so fashionable an explanation of failure three or four decades later. If his early years were regulated with reasonable strictness, if pocket-money was not lavish, if he had to use a gun properly when presented with one, and if he had to learn that dogs and ponies must be accepted as a responsibility and not as mere toys, that was part of his training to make the best of the fruits of that sober vigour with which his ancestors had endowed him. Only one major desire was definitely thwarted, and that was his ambition to be a sailor. From earliest childhood the sea had fascinated him. He pored over *Mahan's Influence of Sea Power upon History*. He and a small friend built a sailing-boat in the top of a hemlock-tree in which they spent hours of imaginary voyaging. He started a marine museum. Real voyages to Europe and the seafaring traditions and tales of his mother's family added to this preoccupation with the sea. He crossed the Atlantic when he was just two years old, and between the ages of seven and fifteen he went abroad several months every year. For two summers he attended the public school in Bad Nauheim, where his father used to take the cure. He also toured Germany and Switzerland on a bicycle with a tutor, and they managed to get arrested by the German police four times in one day—for running over a goose, for picking cherries by the highway, for taking their bicycles through the waiting-room of a railway-station, and, finally, for bicycling into Strasburg after sunset. Natural history was a passion, and the bird room at the Natural History Museum in London was one of his Meccas. The summers spent in the family cottage on the island

of Campobello, in Passamaquoddy Bay, then the still disputed boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, kept that preoccupation with the sea alive; and when his father gave him a twenty-one-footer sailing-boat of his own, with a diminutive two-bunk cabin and a centreboard, in which he learned the navigation of waters that demand the best seamanship, the desire to be a sailor became more ardent than ever. It was not to be. Groton, not Annapolis, was to begin his formal education.

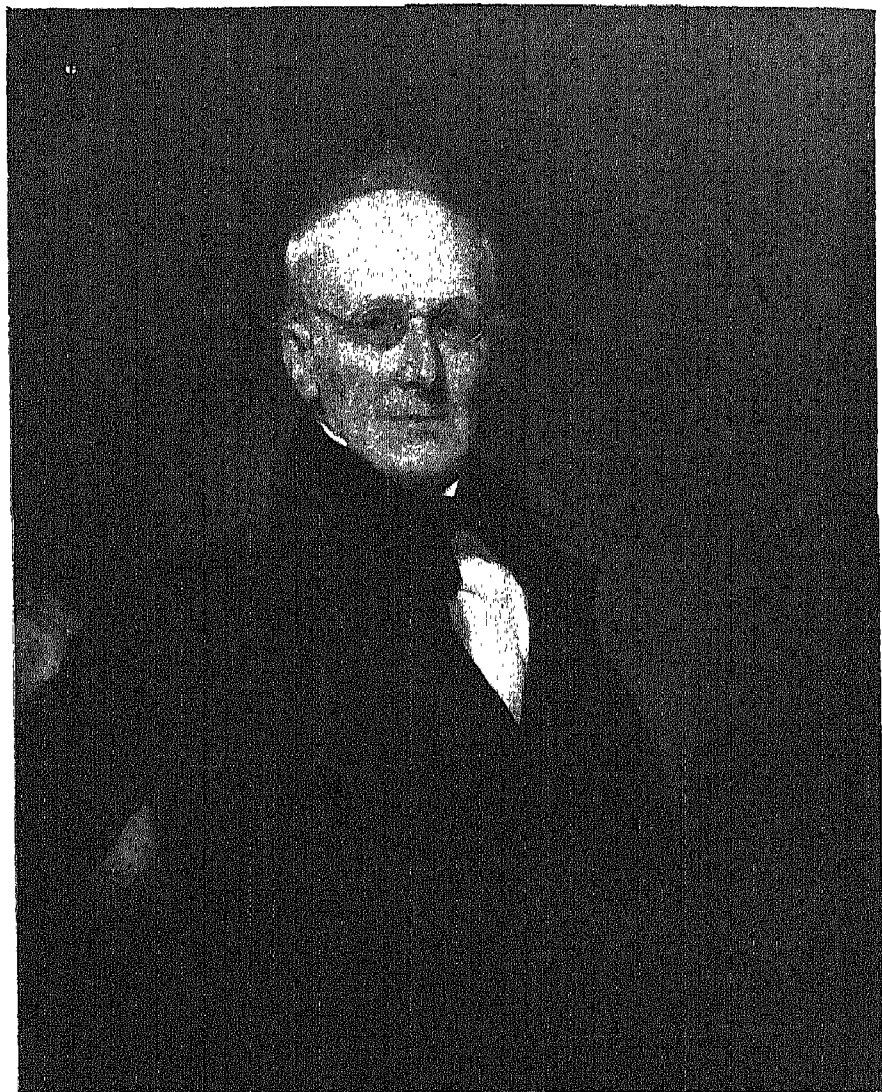
Whatever may have been the motives which actuated James Roosevelt to discourage his son's ambition, the world of to-day can feel grateful to him. By the accident of one man's prejudice in the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century the world may have been preserved for freedom. The sequence of events shall not be anticipated. It is enough to note at this point that the young Franklin did not go to Annapolis but to the fashionable prep. school of Groton, in Massachusetts. English readers should note that what they call a public school is called a prep. school in the United States, and that what Americans call a public school they call a council or elementary school. As Harvard and Yale are the equivalent of Oxford and Cambridge, Groton and St Paul's are the equivalent of Eton and Harrow.

Franklin Roosevelt was late in going to school. He was, indeed, already fourteen and a half when he entered Groton. One detects in his mother's reminiscences of him as a boy a faint apology for not sending him till so comparatively late, and one wonders if it were not she as much as his father who opposed that naval career which would so certainly take him far from her.

A result of not going to school earlier was a concentrated succession of the fevers and ills which are usually spread out over childhood. It was one of these which reinforced that decision of his father's to refuse him Annapolis and the Navy. In February 1898 war between Spain and the United States was precipitated by the blowing up of the U.S battleship *Maine* in Havana harbour. At that time Theodore Roosevelt, aged thirty-nine, was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the first McKinley Administration. It was he, as Acting Secretary in the temporary absence of his chief, Governor Long, who sent the dispatch to Commodore Dewey at Hong Kong (whose appointment he had been instrumental in securing) which led to the destruction of the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay by the United States Asiatic Squadron on May 1, 1898. But dispatches calling for action were not enough for Theodore Roosevelt: he wanted deeds for himself, not words. Within a week or two he had resigned from the administration and was recruiting the famous Rough Riders whom he was to command in Cuba.



ISAAC ROOSEVELT (1726-94)
One of the President's ancestors
Oil painting by Gilbert Stuart
Hyde Park Mansion

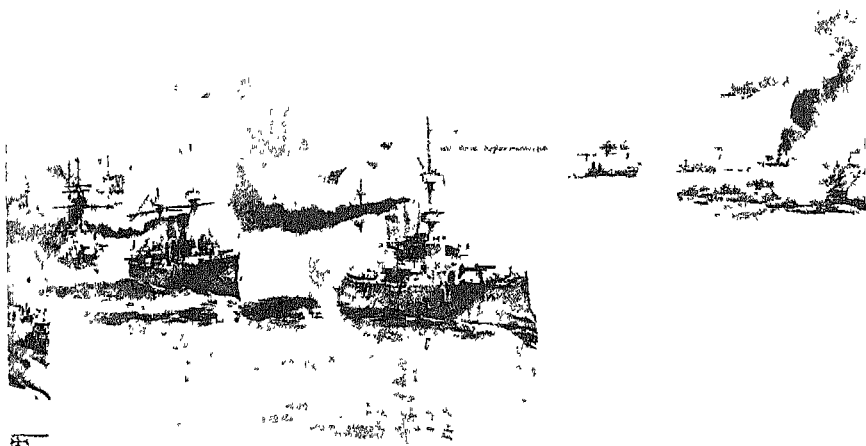


JAMES ROOSEVELT I (1760-1847)

One of the President's ancestors

Oil painting, artist unknown

Hyde Park Mansion



THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY (1898)
Contemporary drawing from *Harper's Weekly* by Henry Fenn

If Theodore Roosevelt was finding the civilian activity of an Assistant Secretary of the Navy irksome in days like those, how irksome was his sixteen-year-old schoolboy fifth cousin finding it at Groton! The war with Spain was having the same kind of effect on American youth as in the following year the South African war would exert upon British youth. We Americans and British who are sixty years old look back to our 'teens as a period of stifling featherbed security on which the bugles of war sounded as magical as Oberon's horn. The sense of fatigued accomplishment weighing us down with the feeling that we had outlived the glories of history was dissipated. The onset of real war at last bewitched our fancy with all the fervour of calf-love. It seems a safe speculation for a biographer that the sixteen-year-old Franklin was not immune from the common emotions of English-speaking youth at that period, and that we need not look beyond them for an explanation of his anxiety to be in the war himself. In his case the example of Theodore Roosevelt may have added another prick from the spur of action. Anyway, he and a school friend, hearing that volunteers were enlisting for the Navy at Boston, decided to enlist themselves. It was arranged with a pieman who visited the school with his wares

to smuggle them away in his cart one Sunday to the nearest railway-station, whence they expected to reach Boston and find themselves safely enlisted before the authorities had discovered their whereabouts. It was no sudden impulse. The money necessary to finance this adventure had to be saved up for weeks from their allowances. And then, on the evening before the escapade was to be carried through, both boys went down with measles. Destiny had ruled that Franklin D. Roosevelt should handle a hefty trident, but it was not to be from the bridge of his own flagship.

It is worth noting from Mrs James Roosevelt's reminiscences of her son's schooldays that toward the end of his time at Groton he distinguished himself as a member of the Debating Team, and that among the subjects debated was the advisability of increasing the United States Navy and the duty of Great Britain and the United States to guarantee the integrity of China. In his last term—that is, the summer of 1900—Franklin, now eighteen and a half, was arguing on the losing side that the Filipinos should be given their independence as soon as they demonstrated an ability to use it well. Boys of eighteen at schools in Britain would be arguing on the losing side two years later that the Boers should be given their independence. The wind of liberalism was blowing strongly again. In the circles from which the boys of Groton came it may yet have been but a cat's-paw hardly ruffling the smooth reservoir of accumulated privilege, which by now looked like a natural lake; that there was even a cat's-paw was significant enough.

In the autumn semester of 1900 Franklin D. Roosevelt went to Harvard. Fairly good at his studies, more than fairly good at games, high-spirited, handsome, mirthful, charming, and with a social position that could be taken for granted, he was able to contemplate with equanimity the prospect of an agreeable university career. And this he certainly achieved. What has an important bearing upon his subsequent career is that he achieved it without thinning out any of the convictions which had set from the blossom of his boyhood. In spite of playing football for the freshmen's team, in spite of being a good oar, in spite of being a member of the Gold Coast, as the blood set at Harvard was called, in spite of being elected to eight of the College's exclusive clubs, he was suspect among his own kind; and there must be quite a few of his contemporaries who can shake their heads to-day and declare that Franklin D. Roosevelt's crimson was in fact a suspicious shade of red which they recognized at the time.

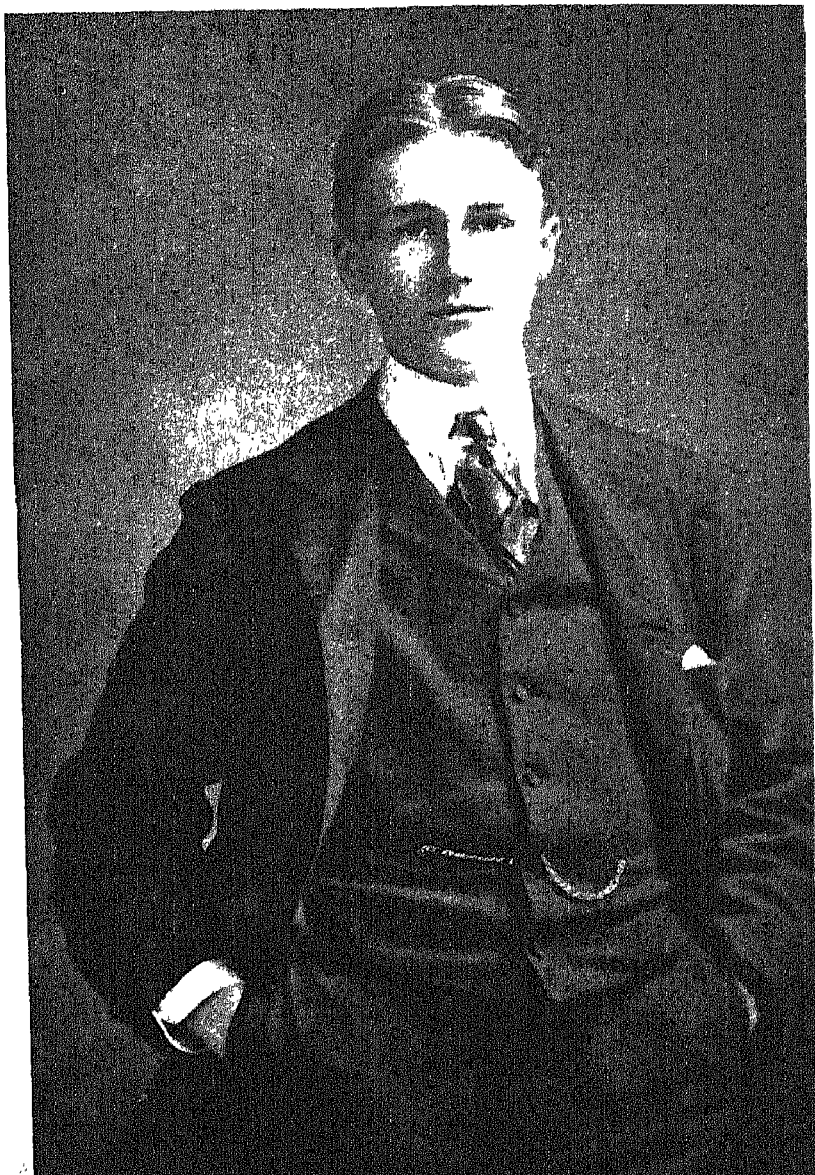
In the first place he was a Democrat. That could have been overlooked on account of the fact that he came from a family who had always



OUTSIDE A RECRUITING OFFICE AT THE TIME OF THE BLOWING UP OF THE
BATTLESHIP "MAINE" IN HAVANA HARBOUR

Contemporary drawing from *Harper's Weekly* by William Allen Rogers

been Democrats. It was not the political party which became a New England gentleman, but it might be forgiven, as at an English public school the son of a Liberal peer could be forgiven so long as he kept



AT GROTON SCHOOL
May 1900

quiet about it. Franklin Roosevelt, however, was a militant Democrat. In that first fall, when his kinsman Theodore had the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency, Franklin, as a freshman, was supporting that wild and woolly fanatic from the West, W. J. Bryan, a man whom even the urbane Secretary of State, John Hay, could see only as another Jack Cade. To support the candidature of Bryan for the Presidency was to support a traitor to his country who had dared to call the long war to suppress the Filipinos a war of criminal aggression.

Besides being a Democrat and an anti-imperialist in the matter of the Philippines, Franklin Roosevelt was a pro-Boer, and an active pro-Boer at that, who raised funds for their cause. It might seem to British readers that this should hardly have been a social offence in America, but the right set at Harvard was not so different from the right set at Oxford or Cambridge and adopted a rigidly conventional pro-British attitude over the South African War. A good word for Filipinos or Boers in the last year of the nineteenth century meant to the privileged minority that you were capable of extending your perverted opinion to approval of undermining the very foundations of sane and comfortable society. It might seem obvious that Franklin Roosevelt's Boer sympathies were inspired by his Dutch origins; but if that debate at Groton about the future of the Philippines be remembered it will seem probable that his attitude was dictated as much by the burgeoning of young liberal opinion preparing to influence the new century. It was part of a phenomenon observable all over the world.

One or two of President Roosevelt's biographers have tried to draw a comparison between the effect he had upon his contemporaries when young and the effect Mr Winston Churchill had upon his. There is no parallel. Roosevelt was a dangerously charming young Liberal who got away with it because apart from his opinions there was nothing to criticize. Churchill was at war with his contemporaries from Harrow onward not because of his political opinions but because of his opinion of himself. He did not conform to the standard of manners and behaviour expected of such stock. It might be genius or it might be American blood. Whichever it was, it was something against which the conventional mind, civil or military, revolted. All that he had in common with Roosevelt was an immense, an exhilarating, an invincible vitality. While the latter was at Harvard Churchill had returned from numerous adventures all over the world to enter politics. He was already quarrelling with his party about free trade, but he was still nominally the Conservative Member of Parliament for Oldham, and when at last he crossed the floor of the House to become a Liberal it

was with hardly a single genuinely Liberal opinion in his head. If a comparison were to be made between a Roosevelt and Winston Churchill it could be established more plausibly between him and Theodore Roosevelt. He was in fact never a Liberal but a Tory tainted from a Tory point of view by progressiveness, which is by no means the same thing. As one looks back at the picture of Franklin Roosevelt at Harvard one discerns in him a typical expression of Plato's "what is in the air"; and when he reaches the political status which Winston Churchill had already acquired between 1900 and 1904 his exploitation of it will be entirely dissimilar from that fair and florid young man with a severe impediment of speech who in a tight frock-coat was holding audiences by the sheer exuberance of his vitality and who at that date, lacking alike the graces of eloquence or logic, conquered neither by what he said nor by the way in which he said it, but just by being what he so aggressively was.

Franklin Roosevelt's politics of the future were made clear enough while he was still a freshman, when he organized the unprivileged majority to combine and carry the elections of the class officers against the candidates of the influential minority to which he himself belonged. This has been sneered at as an early manifestation of Roosevelt's enjoyment of cheap popularity: it is at least as easy to believe that it may have been an early manifestation of his sense of social justice. A study of Roosevelt's career suggests that his difficulty has been not so much to win popularity as to avoid it. We in Britain who during that dark and menacing year of 1940 listened to him over the radio are disinclined to accept the hostile legend of his insincerity. He played almost as great a part in the emotional strengthening of the British people as Winston Churchill himself. Moreover, it is too often unappreciated that the man who wins the love of those less fortunately placed than himself wins it because he loves them just a little more than he loves his own peers. The anecdotes that survive from Roosevelt's childhood all reveal what is called an affectionate nature; and when the experience of school life occurring later than is usual came to him there may have been a treasure of love, accumulated during a childhood passed so much in the company of older people from whom he received and to whom he gave loving consideration, to be spent at first on the larger world of contemporary youth and ultimately upon the immense world of common humanity.

One of Roosevelt's ambitions at Harvard was to edit *The Crimson*. The tale runs that he managed to get on the staff by obtaining possession of the news that Theodore Roosevelt was going to lecture before Pro-



HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Massachusetts Hall, built in 1720

fessor A. Lawrence Lowell's class on his Governorship of New York and being promised an interview afterwards. Having achieved an assistant-editorship in his sophomore year, Franklin achieved the managing editorship in his third year and wound up as president in his class year of 1904. It happens that the present writer, who edited one Oxford paper and was on the staff of another from 1902 to 1904, can remember well the complimentary copies of *The Crimson* under Franklin D. Roosevelt, and he can testify what a capital paper it was. He used to get Dan Milburn, the famous American polo-player of the future but then a member of the Oxford Eight, to explain some of the cryptic jokes. But what he remembers best of all about *The Crimson* of forty years ago was the way it interested itself in the material administration of the university. That seemed extraordinary to Oxford undergraduates, who always accepted their own university as a changeless and unchangeable medieval relic. We did not suspect that there was a reformer at the helm of *The Crimson* who was steering what contemporary Harvard thought was a slightly eccentric course.

"There is a higher duty than to vote for one's personal friends, and that is to secure for the whole class, leaders who really deserve the positions."

That was the opening paragraph of an article by Franklin D. Roosevelt demanding that the class-day elections should be free from the influence of the exclusive clubs, of so many of which he was himself a member. As he began at Harvard, so he went on. And so he would go on. Those words might have been repeated by himself nearly thirty years later when his own nomination as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency was going to seem to many a breach of personal friendship.

But it would misrepresent the undergraduate Roosevelt to portray him as a passionate young reformer for ever at odds with conventional opinion. On the contrary, he was swimming strongly in the mainstream of university life.

Wherever there was healthy mischief afoot, Franklin was certain to be part of the plot. He was no different in that respect than his uncle Warren Delano, who years earlier had outraged the Harvard faculty by dressing up a statue in a public square and causing both the police and fire departments to be called out to remove the offending articles of clothing.

Thus did his mother speak of him.¹

And she recalls further that his room was the conventional college boy's diggings. "The walls were literally covered with pennants, framed mementoes of cherished happenings, and the 'shingles' of clubs to which he belonged." It was at the Fly Club that he gave his twenty-first on January 30, 1903, the eleven guests being bidden to present themselves in costume.¹

James Roosevelt died when Franklin was a freshman, and Mrs Roosevelt, not wishing to be alone at Hyde Park, took a house in Boston to be near her son; but his time was very fully occupied, and in those days when cars were still rareties she did not see him by any means every Sunday. And wisely she intruded seldom upon his digs. During one summer vacation they went to Norway on a North Cape cruise, and were anchored in the same fiord as the Kaiser's yacht. Franklin received an invitation to look over the ship and pinched a pencil from the Kaiser's desk, indented here and there by the Imperial teeth. Mostly, however, the summer vacations were spent on Campobello Island, where Franklin was now the owner of a forty-footer sailing-boat

¹ *My Boy Franklin*, by Mrs James Roosevelt.



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT IN 1903 OR 1904

—the *Half Moon*, called after the Dutch ship in which, searching for a north-west passage to China in 1609, the old English mariner Henry Hudson first navigated the river that is called after him.

"By the time June came around," his mother has recorded, "Franklin, who was never still a minute, used to look as if he could do with a holiday." Remembering the 'strenuous life' of Theodore Roosevelt (it was he who popularized the expression), one is tempted to search for the energy and vitality in the Roosevelt stock, but it seems more probable that Franklin derived his from his mother. Indeed, it is a reasonably safe generalization to say that nine great men out of ten derive their vitality from their mothers. The impression James Roosevelt makes is of a charming and courtly country gentleman whose energy did not extend far beyond the pursuits of a country gentleman with a sense of duty about local affairs. What Franklin Roosevelt probably did derive from his father was a sense of justice and a sense of humour. And both are expressions of a sense of proportion and a sense of balance.

If it was from his father that Franklin D. Roosevelt derived those qualities the world of to-day owes a heavier debt than the sum total of the material debt still owing to the United States to that middle-aged country gentleman with the whiskers, and the shrewd eyes, and the sensitive, humorous mouth.

By the end of his third year Roosevelt was ready to take his degree in history and government; but he stayed on at Harvard for his fourth year—one surmises without doing much academic reading inasmuch as he had planned for a secret reason of his own to work in the Law School at Columbia University. No doubt *The Crimson* and the chairmanship of his class and a club he had founded for the study of current events and all the many other absorbing interests of university life made him loath to leave. He had deep roots in Harvard. Nearly a dozen of his forefathers had been linked with it since it was incorporated in 1636.

Theodore Roosevelt in his autobiography wrote: "I thoroughly enjoyed Harvard, and I am sure it did me good, but only in the general effect, for there was very little in my actual studies which helped me in after-life."

Inasmuch as Theodore Roosevelt attained the Phi Beta Kappa society, which meant that he graduated among the high scholars, he must be presumed to have benefited academically more than Franklin Roosevelt, who did not attain the Phi Beta Kappa. At any rate, the instruction he received in rhetoric enabled Theodore to start his history of *The Naval War of 1812* in his last year. This was published two years later, in 1882, and won him an accepted place as a historian. Franklin Roosevelt

did not start a history of the American Navy ; but he started at Harvard to collect those books about the American Navy which now form the finest collection on that subject in existence. If Franklin Roosevelt wrote his autobiography would he attribute as little importance as Theodore to those years at Harvard ? If he should it would display some ingratitude, for it is not easy to fancy him what he is now if he had been anywhere else than at Harvard during those first four years of this surging century.

Once Franklin, as a little boy, rebuked by his mother for giving orders all the time to another little boy when digging a fort of sand, replied, "Mummie, if I didn't give the orders all the time nothing would happen."

We can fancy that it was somehow like that in the editorial office of *The Crimson* ; but the printers found his manner so persuasive that they never opposed his most extravagant ideas. He must have learned a good deal about charming the opposition at Harvard in every direction, and perhaps that was more important to his future than a good degree or even stroke's thwart in the Harvard Eight.



F.D.R. AS THE PRESIDENT OF "THE HARVARD CRIMSON"
with other members of the editorial office

CHAPTER III

IN the Christmas holidays of 1897-98, when Franklin Roosevelt was on the edge of sixteen, there was a gathering of Roosevelt relations and connexions which was attended, according to her own estimate of herself, by a plain and gawky little girl of just over thirteen whose weak ankles did not allow her to take part in winter sports and whose self-consciousness over her long legs and short skirts made her a clumsy dancer. This was Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, the daughter of Elliott Roosevelt, the younger brother of Theodore, who had been Franklin's godfather. Elliott was a most delightful father, but he grew erratic and inclined to drink too much, so that when his wife died he was not considered by the family a suitable guardian for his children, who were put in charge of their grandmother, Mrs Valentine Hall. Eleanor had one of those muddled and discouraging childhoods which were a feature of the transition from mid-Victorianism to modernity. We view them with horror nowadays, but they had their good points for the human material strong enough to stand them.

At this party Franklin invited Eleanor to dance with him, and Eleanor's grateful surprise reveals the kind of conquering hero that her young cousin must have been seeming at that date. It was soon after this dance that he was planning to enlist in the Navy. His worst enemies have never denied Franklin Roosevelt's good looks and charm; in fact, they have been a charge laid against him. A man may be handsome or he may be clever or he may be successful without rousing enmity; but if he be all three God help him, for he can count on a multitude who will hate him for no other reason than what is considered an excess of natural advantages. On Cinderella, "who was never allowed to see boys in the intervals between these parties, and who was still dressed like a little girl when she looked like a very grown-up one," that dance with Prince Charming evidently made an impression.

In the autumn of 1899, when just fifteen, Eleanor Roosevelt was sent to school in England—at Southfields, by Wimbledon Common. Here she came under the sway of an unusual headmistress for an English school, an old French lady called Souvestre, who was an agnostic and a Liberal, and had taught an aunt of Eleanor's in Paris before the Franco-Prussian war. Besides school under Mlle Souvestre, she travelled with her on the Continent during the Easter and Christmas holidays. The tale has been most vividly told by Mrs Roosevelt herself in what is as



ELEANOR ROOSEVELT IN 1888

good an autobiography¹ as any woman has written. Like Franklin, Eleanor was pro-Boer, not apparently from any sentiment of origins, but because Mlle Souvestie impressed her imagination so strongly by her own devotion to the freedom of nations.

She saw Franklin once for a brief moment during one of her summer holidays from school, but it was not until his third year at Harvard that they met occasionally at dances after she had left school and was 'out.' Some time early in the spring of 1904 Franklin took two months' leave from Harvard and with his friend Lathrop Brown accompanied Mrs James Roosevelt on a cruise to the West Indies and Venezuela. Mrs James Roosevelt's object was to distract her son's growing interest in Eleanor Roosevelt, because she did not view the prospect of an early marriage with favour. That cruise fixed upon Franklin's mind at an impressionable age the strategic importance of the West Indies, but from his mother's point of view at the time it was a failure, for when it was over he told her that during the previous autumn he had asked Eleanor to marry him. It was a shock to Mrs James Roosevelt, who was still only fifty and had taken a house in Madison Avenue in order to have the pleasure of looking after her son while he was attending the Law School of the great University of Columbia, in New York. ✓Her prospective daughter-in-law was only nineteen : her son was twenty-two. It was difficult to surrender so handsome and devoted an only son thus early in her widowhood. ✓However, what Mrs James Roosevelt thought about this unexpected engagement is really beside the point. What is important to world history, of which President Roosevelt is now a part, is that his choice of the woman he wanted to marry was an early example of that clear sense of direction which is now steering a second Ark. It would, indeed, be difficult to exaggerate the value to his career of that wife, which does not mean that a young man of twenty-two was considering his political career when he asked her to marry him. She was the niece of one who had already proved himself the greatest Presidential personality since Abraham Lincoln ; but Franklin D. Roosevelt was a Democrat, so that, politically speaking, there was nothing to be gained from marriage with the niece of a Republican President. His judgment is extolled because he fell in love with her, and she would slowly develop into a great woman. His mother has told us that what particularly surprised herself and all his friends about the engagement was that until Franklin announced it he had "never been in any sense a ladies' man." She could not recall ever hearing him talk about girls or even a girl until he became engaged to that

¹ *The Lady of the White House.*



ELEANOR ROOSEVELT ON HER WEDDING DAY
March 17, 1905

"delightful child of nineteen." Eleanor Roosevelt herself had already taken up what is called social work, and although it may sound now rather like what was known as 'slumming' in England, where young women of the aristocracy had for some years been trying to cultivate a conscience about the lives of the poor, it started something in her to which she was able to return when the time came for her to express herself as an individual, and not merely as the wife of a good-looking and popular and promising young politician.

I had a great curiosity about life [she has written of this time] and a desire to participate in every experience that might be the lot of woman. There seemed to me a necessity for hurry; without rhyme or reason I felt the urge to be a part of the stream of life, and so in the autumn of 1903, when Franklin Roosevelt . . . asked me to marry him . . . it seemed an entirely natural thing.

That is as lucid an exposition of a young woman's motives for getting married as may be found in literature.

On March 4, 1905, Theodore Roosevelt was inaugurated for his second term as President of the United States. The engaged couple went to stay at Washington with Mrs Cowles, one of Eleanor Roosevelt's aunts, in order to attend the ceremony.

They heard the President declare in words that now seem prophetic :

"Much has been given to us, and much will rightfully be expected from us. We have duties to others and duties to ourselves, and we can shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with the other nations of the earth, and we must behave as becomes a people with such responsibilities. . . . If we fail the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations, and therefore our responsibility is heavy to ourselves, to the world as it is to-day, and to the generations yet unborn."

Eleanor Roosevelt would remember that her uncle was speaking with great force, but nothing of what he said, for she had neither knowledge of nor interest in politics at that date. At the Capitol she and Franklin were sitting on the steps behind the President, a privileged position accorded only to members of the family. Afterwards they lunched at the White House, and during the parade she kept reminding herself that she was assisting at an historic event. One may fancy that she was trying hard not to be thinking all the while about her own marriage, which was to take place a fortnight hence. What Franklin was thinking about during Theodore Roosevelt's speech we do not know. At just twenty-three it would not have been unreasonably sanguine for a young man of so much vitality, already intensely interested in current affairs, to indulge a day-dream about himself standing one day where Theodore Roosevelt was standing now. If he did, like a wise young man he kept his dreams about his own future to himself.

The marriage of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt took place on March 17 in the house of a cousin of the bride, Mrs Henry Parish, Junior, at 6 and 8 East Seventy-sixth Street. It was held in a private house, because the President was going to give away his niece and god-

daughter, and it was feared that no church in New York would hold the crowd of sightseers and it would thus be difficult for the police to take the precautions required. As it was, there was an immense crowd to watch the President's arrival in an open landau, and it needed seventy-five policemen to close the block to traffic. The music of the *Wedding March* mingled with the music of *The Wearing of the Green* as the Ancient Order of Hibernians marched up Fifth Avenue in celebration of St Patrick's Day. The ceremony was performed by Dr Peabody, the Rector of Groton School; Lathrop Brown was best man; Alice Roosevelt, the President's eldest daughter, just twenty-one, was a bridesmaid. Mrs James Roosevelt recalls that Dr Peabody, the bridegroom, and the best man "were so deeply engrossed in a conversation about the old days at School" that they were nearly late at the altar. After the ceremony was over and the newly married couple were being congratulated by the guests the President retired into the library. Upon which as many of the guests as could rushed after him and left the bride and bridegroom unnoticed. "For an awful moment, the children insist, they were left entirely alone while the crowd hovered around Mr Roosevelt, shaking him by the hand," Mrs James Roosevelt has related.

Like those wedding guests, the present writer will take advantage of this moment to turn his attention for a few pages to Theodore Roosevelt, between whose career and that of Franklin there are enough similarities to make many people aver that Franklin modelled himself on Theodore. It would be ridiculous for a biographer jealous of his own subject to argue that Franklin Roosevelt's career was not influenced by the example of his remarkable cousin, or that his own ambition was not often stimulated by that example. Belief in the influence of Theodore Roosevelt over Franklin Roosevelt has been confirmed by the frequency with which to this date the second President of the name cites the first President in illustration of an argument. All the same, it must be insisted that much of the coincidence between the careers of two great Americans was brought about purely by the accident of circumstance; it will be prudent to remember the old Latin proverb, *Nihil simile est idem*, nothing similar is the same, and remember with it that the difference between the two men was rooted in a profound difference of temperament and character. It would be just too neat a double paradox to say that Theodore's altruism was the fruit of his superb egotism and that Franklin's egotism in self-defence was forced upon him by his altruism; but it adumbrates the difference between them.

Theodore was fifth in descent from Johannes Roosevelt, born in 1689; Franklin was fifth in descent from Johannes' brother, Jacobus

Roosevelt, born in 1692. It was the fact that Franklin's father, born in 1828, married again in middle age, which put him a generation later than his fifth cousin Theodore, whose father was born in 1831, and who himself was born on October 27, 1858. It has already been noted that the older branch of the Roosevelts kept much more of the Dutch blood than the younger branch, which intermarried with families of English blood. Theodore's grandfather was a banker and glass-importer of considerable fortune. His son, also Theodore, married Martha Bulloch, a member of an old Georgian family, whose two brothers fought for the Confederacy with such effect that they were excluded from the amnesty, and one lived as an exile in Liverpool. Theodore Roosevelt, Senior, was an ardent and active supporter of the Union, so much so that he broke with family tradition by joining the Republican Party, because even the Union Democrats, as they were called, seemed tainted with rebellion. There must have been some difficult moments at 28 East Twentieth Street, New York City; but thanks to the love between husband and wife the Civil War did not break up the family. The young Theodore at the age of about three was clever enough to grasp that there were two strongly held points of view at home, and one evening when he was saying his prayers at his mother's knee he took the opportunity to pay her out for some display of maternal authority by calling upon the Lord to bless the Union cause.

Theodore was handicapped from infancy by severe asthma, and throughout his youth his whole will was concentrated upon mastering the malady. He had achieved this by the time he went to Harvard through a combination of mental and physical determination which was to be repeated by another Roosevelt sixty years later. Theodore's father died while he was at Harvard, and at the age of twenty-one he found himself rich and independent. He became engaged to Alice Lee, whom he married in 1880 upon his twenty-second birthday. Simultaneously he entered politics, which in those days and for many days to come was not considered a decent profession for a New York gentleman. He also studied law, continued his naval history, added hunting and polo to other strenuous athletic pursuits, nourished his passion for natural history, and for a short while worked at publishing with G. P. Putnam's Sons. That grand old character Major George Putnam used to say that Theodore's publishing consisted mostly of putting up wild schemes which other members of the firm steadily turned down. In 1881, when he was just twenty-three, he was elected assemblyman for the Twenty-first Assembly District of New York. Five months later he was demanding in the Assembly that Judge

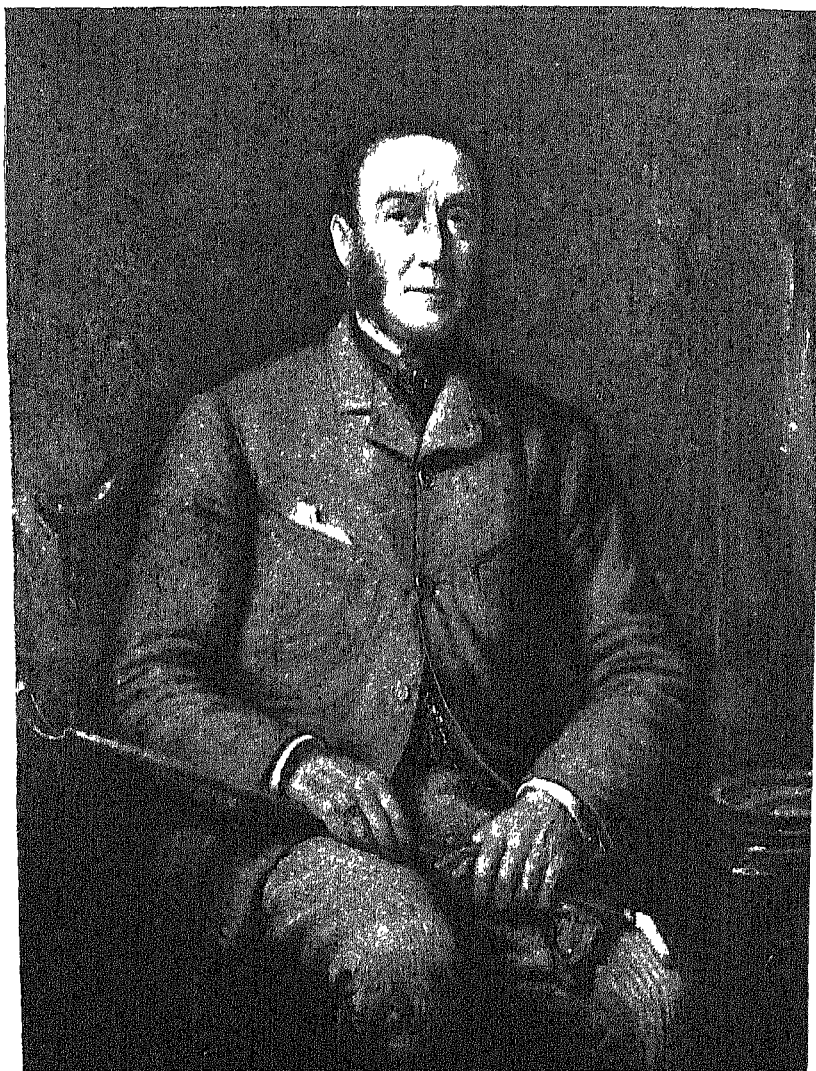


ISAAC ROOSEVELT (1790-1863)

† One of the President's ancestors

Oil painting, artist unknown

Hyde Park Mansion



JAMES ROOSEVELT (1828-1900)
The President's father
Oil painting by F. Moscheles, 1885
Hyde Park Mansion

Westbrook should be impeached for corrupt collusion with Jay Gould. Years later he would declare in his Autobiography that he was not conscious of going into politics to benefit other people, but to secure for himself the privilege of self-government to which every one was entitled. He was determined that the governing class should govern and not be governed by the political bosses of New York City. So frank a disclaimer of altruism from a politician is refreshing.

The Republican bosses of New York City were at first contemptuous of the young man who was defying them ; but he attacked them as he had attacked asthma, and rose day after day to demand the impeachment. The public supported him. On the eighth day the Assembly agreed to appoint a committee of investigation, and although the verdict exonerated the judge, Theodore Roosevelt had made his name. During 1882 and 1883 he was hard at work on various reforms, among others getting a Bill passed to stop cigars being made in foul and crowded tenement rooms. The Bill passed ; but the Court of Appeals declared it unconstitutional, and it is worth while quoting that judgment : "It cannot be perceived how the cigar-maker is to be improved in his health or his morals by forcing him from his home and its hallowed associations and beneficent influences to ply his trade elsewhere."

That was how a squalid tenement house presented itself to the fancy of a Court of Justice when Franklin Roosevelt was just three years old. He was to have his own troubles with Courts of Justice fifty years later, but he would be spared that loathsome legal unctuousness of the nineteenth century.

On February 12, 1884, Theodore Roosevelt's mother died, and twenty-four hours later his wife died in giving birth to the daughter who was one of Eleanor Roosevelt's bridesmaids, on St Patrick's Day, 1905.

Theodore, heartbroken, was inclined to retire to North Dakota, where he had bought an interest in two ranches among the Bad Lands of that still sparsely settled Territory ; but although he refused to stand again for the Assembly, he agreed to serve as one of the four delegates at large of New York State at the Republican Convention held in Chicago in the summer of 1884 to nominate the candidate for the Presidency. By that date the Republican Party, which had been in power without a break since the Civil War, was beginning to suffer from fatty degeneration, and a sign of it was the attempt to nominate James G. Blaine, who had a bad reputation for taking bribes from the moneyed interests. Roosevelt fought hard for Senator Edmunds, the candidate who had the support of the Independent Republicans derisively

called Mugwumps by Dana, of the *New York Sun*. Blaine secured the nomination, and to the mortification of the progressive elements of the Republican Party, Roosevelt declared he should continue to support the Republican ticket. He recognized that Blaine was bad, but he believed that even with a bad leader the country would be better under the control of the Republicans than under the Democrats. The Democrats had a good candidate that year in Grover Cleveland, the capable Governor of New York, and with the help of the Mugwumps he was elected. So Roosevelt's surrender to party what was meant for mankind did not do the harm it might have done. When the election was over he retired to the Elkhorn Ranch and for nearly two years led the life to which every normal schoolboy aspires.

One day in September 1886, away in the Bad Lands, Theodore Roosevelt read in a New York paper that he had been nominated by a body of Independents as candidate for Mayor of New York City. He at once went East and accepted fight. The Democratic candidate was an honest man, for Tammany Hall was on its best behaviour, and there was another honest man in the person of Henry George, who had been nominated by the United Labour Party. This sudden appearance of Labour so frightened every property-owner in New York City that Republicans and Independents worked hard together; but in the result the Democratic candidate was elected, with Theodore Roosevelt third. When the election was over Theodore crossed the Atlantic to marry in St George's, Hanover Square, Miss Edith Carow, of New York. She was a friend of his childhood. When as a small boy he was in Paris with his parents in 1869 he had written, "November 22. In the evening Mama showed me the portrait of Edith Carow, and her face stirred up in me homesickness and longings for the past which will come again never aback never."

Theodore went aback farther than Franklin for fidelity to a little girl, but, on the other hand, he did marry somebody else in between.

In 1889 Theodore Roosevelt was appointed by President Harrison a member of the Civil Service Commission. It was by now an objective of reform to abolish the system by which the whole Civil Service was the 'Spoils' of the victorious party, and the object of the Commission was to keep the unfit out of office. When in 1892 Cleveland was elected President again he reappointed Roosevelt, who worked hard to prevent Republican Government employees from being turned out to make way for Democrats. Then in 1895 a reforming Mayor of New York was elected, and Theodore Roosevelt was appointed President of the Board of Police Commissioners, which gave his reforming energy plenty of



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, IN HIS OFFICE, 1897
 Drawing from *Harper's Weekly* by William Allen Rogers

scope. It is worth noting that a German anti-Semite came over from Berlin to stir up feeling against the Jews during Roosevelt's term of office. The Jewish colony was much perturbed by the advent of this crusader and begged that he might be forbidden the right to hold public meetings. Roosevelt, however, had a better idea. He allowed the German to hold his meeting, but policed the hall with forty Jewish policemen who were entrusted to keep order. The German yowled away against the Jews in the good old German way without a murmur from the audience. The German's crusade fell flat, and the public laughed him out of New York.

In 1896 the Republicans were back in power, and President McKinley offered Theodore Roosevelt the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He was thirty-eight years old. Franklin would beat him to this post by seven years. Theodore's energy could not face civilian life when the war with Spain came, and he raised his Rough Riders for active service in Cuba. He was responsible for the 'insubordinate' letter which moved the authorities to order the army home and save it from perishing of yellow fever. At Montauk Point while he was still

with his regiment he was invited to stand as Republican candidate for the Governorship of New York, in which post he became such a terror to Big Business that it was resolved to give him his quietus by getting him elected Vice-President in 1900. He recognized his opponents' object, and was determined to stand again as Governor; but the Republican bosses outmanœuvred him at the Philadelphia Convention by securing such enthusiasm for his nomination as Vice-President that Theodore was swept away by it and accepted Limbo. By April 1901 he was so bored by Vice-Presidential inactivity that he was asking Justice White, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, whether it would be all right for him to enrol himself as a student in the Washington Law School. Justice White thought it might be a somewhat undignified step for the Vice-President of the United States, but offered to coach him privately next fall. That summer President McKinley was assassinated at Buffalo. The Republican bosses had proposed: God disposed. In September Theodore Roosevelt became the twenty-sixth President of the United States. He would be forty-three in a month. Franklin was fifty-one when he took the Presidential oath.

In 1904 Theodore was elected President for a second term, and it is ironical to reflect that on this March day in 1905, when he was the centre of attraction at the wedding of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, the problem occupying the back of his mind was how to bring about peace between Russia and Japan to the advantage of his own country. In 1902 Great Britain, frightened of Russian and French influence in China to her commercial disadvantage and of Russian designs on India and distrustful of Germany, had made an alliance with Japan, to which Winston Churchill, the recently elected Conservative Member for Oldham, had given his enthusiastic approval. Assisted by this, Japan was already making economic inroads upon Korea. When Russia and Japan went to war Roosevelt notified France and Germany that if they attempted to support Russia he would "promptly side with Japan and proceed to whatever length was necessary on her behalf." Roosevelt was not anxious to see either side win too complete a victory, because that would mean dominion over northern China by the conqueror. When the two belligerents were drawing near to bankruptcy and the issue was still uncertain the American, British, and French bankers who had been financing the war refused more money. Japan asked Roosevelt's help, and in that summer of 1905 he would bring the Russian and Japanese delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and himself act as mediator. Furthermore, he would start secret negotiations with Great Britain and Japan by which Japan would recognize American

control of the Philippines and the President of the United States would endorse Japan's dominion over Korea, if necessary by force of arms. In Tokyo the Japanese Prime Minister was assured by Theodore's emissary that he could count on "appropriate action of the Government of the United States, in conjunction with Japan and Great Britain . . . just as confidently as if the United States were under treaty obligations." It was in effect a secret Triple Alliance. Theodore Roosevelt said he was in favour of an open alliance, but that "he might as well strive for the moon" as get the Senate to approve that. The secret alliance remained a secret until 1924.

And now with these plans in the head of President Roosevelt it is time to leave him surrounded by the wedding guests and turn back to the deserted bride and bridegroom.



THE BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES IN MANILA, 1899
Drawing from *Harper's Weekly* by G. W. Peters



F D.R. ABOUT 1907

CHAPTER IV

AFTER their marriage Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt lived for a time in an apartment of a New York hotel in the West Forties, while he continued his work in the Columbia Law School. With the summer vacation they went to Europe for that longer honeymoon of which the wife has written with so much humour and understanding. In England that summer the discredited Unionist Government, which had been overlying the country since the Khaki Election of 1905, had at last been recognized for the corpse it now was, and Britannia was preparing to push it off her chest. Mr Winston Churchill was not prepared to be pushed off with it, and had joined the Liberal Party, from whose platforms he was denouncing the Government for their "administrative incompetence," for "the utter chaos to which they had reduced the British Army," for their "profligate finance," for their "constitutional misdemeanour," and for their "increasing servility towards the vested interests." In the United States the virile Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt was preventing any such denunciation of the Republican Party. The political mood of Britain in 1905 anticipated the political mood of the United States in 1912.

Back from Europe, the newly married couple settled down in a tiny house in East Thirty-sixth Street. A daughter arrived. By 1907 Roosevelt was finished with the Law School of Columbia. He was admitted



MRS ELEANOR ROOSEVELT ABOUT 1907

to the Bar, and joined the old-established and highly reputable legal firm of Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, where he became managing clerk for municipal court cases and later on specialized for the firm in admiralty law. No doubt if fortune had intended to keep him a lawyer he would have been a sound and successful lawyer. However, such speculation is otiose. On both sides of the Atlantic the law, which extends its delays to include its own aspirants, is the best profession for somebody who is not perfectly convinced what he intends to make of life and has sufficient private means to avoid committing himself to a premature decision. Theodore Roosevelt was even prepared to consider it as an aid to marking time during what for him seemed the political catalepsy of a Vice-President. Incidentally, the young married couple saw a good deal of Theodore Roosevelt during those four years when he was President. They stayed often in Washington, both at the White House and with Mrs Cowles, the President's sister. No doubt, the handsome young New York attorney was reminded from time to time of his uncle-in-law's strenuous political creed.

The same people can be absorbed both in domestic and political affairs, and they who devote their energies to business do not therefore neglect politics, for we are peculiar in regarding the man who takes no part in public affairs not as an amiable nonentity, but as a useless drone; for we . . . decide matters for ourselves, not by means of representatives.

Those words were spoken by Pericles, but they might easily have been uttered by Theodore Roosevelt two and a half millenniums later. Had he not gone into politics once upon a time to secure for himself the privilege of self-government?

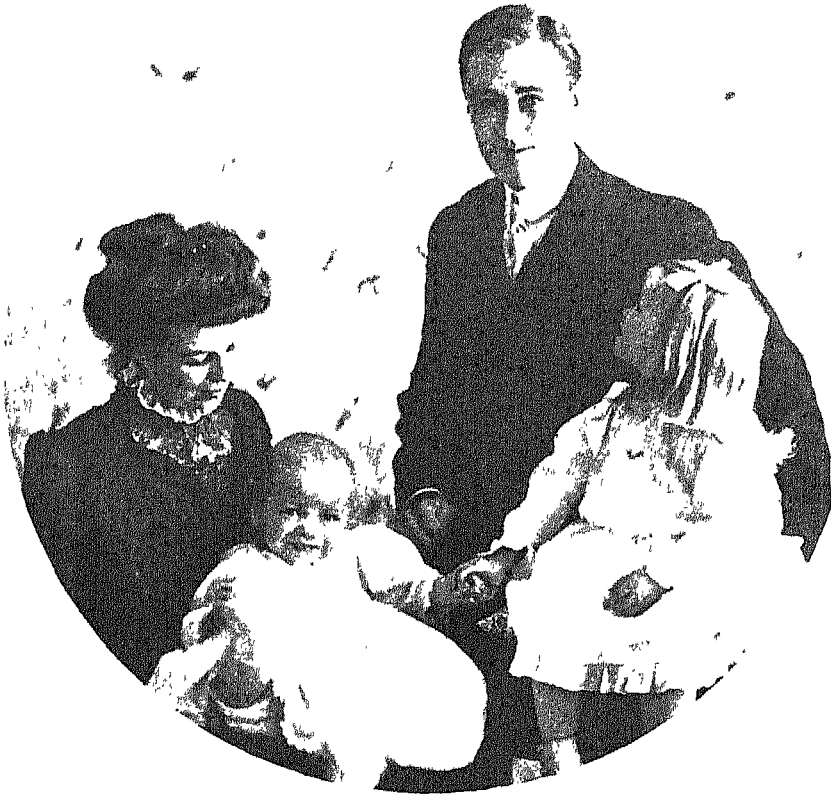
Franklin Roosevelt may have already resolved to enter politics, but if he had he was awaiting the promising occasion. Meanwhile, he was playing his part in the local affairs of Dutchess County as his father had before him. He was also enjoying himself in various kinds of physical activity, most of all in sailing the *Half Moon* during his holidays—once at least in search of buried treasure.

Two more children were born, one of whom died at the age of seven months. The Roosevelts moved from East Thirty-sixth Street to one of two houses in East Sixty-fifth Street which Mrs James Roosevelt had built for herself and them. Mrs Franklin Roosevelt was feeling a little of what so many another young wife has felt with a mother-in-law of strong personality whose son is an only son. She did not like living in a house which was not her own in any way, even to the preparation of it, and did not represent the way she wanted to live. And a year later she was reproaching herself about the baby boy that died.

I was young and morbid and reproached myself very bitterly for having done so little about the baby. . . . I even felt that I had not cared enough about him, and I made myself and all those around me most unhappy during that winter. I was even a little bitter against my poor young husband, who occasionally tried to make me see how idiotically I was behaving.

How vividly those first years of that marriage live again in Mrs Roosevelt's autobiography! But they should be read in the original. Paraphrase of those pages would only spoil them, and interpretation while husband and wife are happily still alive would be an impertinence.

In November 1908 William H. Taft, the Secretary of War, was elected President by a more than comfortable majority over W. J. Bryan, the Democratic candidate of three campaigns. Taft was Theodore Roosevelt's own nominee. There was a snowstorm in Washington on the day of the inauguration on March 4, 1909. Nobody was better aware than the dynamic ex-President what a handicap his presence in the country would be for his portly successor, and with a fine sense of the decent thing to do he vanished from American public life the moment the inaugural ceremonies were over. Usually the ex-President accompanies his successor to the White House. Theodore Roosevelt took the train for New York, and a few days later sailed for Africa. That wintry weather was symbolic of the fate that would overtake the Repub-



MR AND MRS ROOSEVELT WITH THEIR CHILDREN ANNA AND JAMES

lican Party when Theodore Roosevelt left it like an orphan in the storm. After a big-game expedition in Africa Theodore Roosevelt reached Europe to carry on his big-game exploits with the rulers of every country he visited. And not only with the rulers. His dynamic personality was acclaimed by the people of Europe as the true spirit of America. He represented President Taft at the funeral of King Edward VII. He was made a Freeman of the City of London and gave a memorable admonition to his audience at the Guildhall that if they wanted an Empire they must learn how to rule it. This caused a certain amount

of mild indignation at the time, but was ever a warning more needed ? Theodore Roosevelt was slightly exasperated by the *laissez-faire* which was already evident and by the inclination of the British people to live on their fat. Young people of to-day are under the delusion that the Edwardians went about singing Benson's *Land of Hope and Glory* to Elgar's tune. Not at all. They were still listening to the music of the Diamond Jubilee procession dying away into the distance. The climax of Theodore Roosevelt's visit to England was the honorary degree from Oxford University when Lord Curzon, the Chancellor, addressed him as "peer of the most august kings, queller of wars, destroyer of monsters wherever found, yet the most human of mankind, deeming nothing indifferent to you."

A fortnight later, on June 18, 1910, Theodore Roosevelt reached New York, to be accorded the most tremendous welcome any American citizen ever received from his fellow-countrymen. He was (not in a party sense) the world's outstanding democrat : he found that in his absence his own party had struck at democracy in the interests of plutocracy, and that the fight against high finance, vested interests, and political corruption would have to begin all over again.

At this point an attempt must be made to offer the British reader some very superficial and inadequate information about the two great American political parties. The first division after the achievement of independence was between the Republicans, with Thomas Jefferson as their leader, who stood for the freedom of the individual states, and the Federalists, with Alexander Hamilton as their leader, who stood for centralization. Jefferson represented the agrarian interests of the South, and Hamilton the financial interests of the East. The Federalists were always suspected of pro-British sympathies and even at one time of plotting to abandon independence. When Andrew Jackson became President in 1828, after a campaign of Press vituperation from his opponents for which it was necessary to wait over a century to get its equal in the Press vituperation of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife, the old Republican Party became the Democratic Party, and the Federal Party became the Whig Party. In 1854 the Whig Party broke up over the question of slavery, and in 1856 it was reborn as the Republican Party. The strength of that new Republican Party lay in the industrial North and East : the Democratic strength was in the agrarian South. The Republicans were for high tariffs : the Democrats wanted free trade. In the end it developed into the regional struggle of the Civil War when the South seceded from the Union and became the Confederate States. Nevertheless, there remained in the North and East many Union

Democrats. It was then that Theodore Roosevelt, the father of the President, forsook the Democratic traditions of the Roosevelt family and became a Republican. His contemporary cousin James Roosevelt, the father of Franklin, remained a Union Democrat. After the Civil War the Democratic Party went into eclipse until Grover Cleveland was elected President in 1884. As Mayor of Buffalo, and later as Governor of New York, he had shown a notable independence of control by the political bosses.

Although the Democratic Party was in eclipse nationally, it had great power in State politics. In the East the whole of the Irish element was Democratic. The word 'Boss' was a survival of Dutch days, but it was left for the Irish to dye that orange word green. The political bosses were the managers of the party machine, and inasmuch as every State appointment and, for that matter, every Federal appointment changed with the party in power, the influence of the bosses in distributing the 'Spoils' after a political contest was almighty. One of the struggles during the 'eighties was to free the Civil Service of the Spoils system and secure for the country competence and honesty in the Administration at the expense of rewards for political services rendered. Theodore Roosevelt as a young Assemblyman had been a prominent fighter against the Spoils System.

It is always a temptation for an Englishman to think of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party in terms of Conservatism and Liberalism. But it does not work that way. True, in its guardianship of vested interests and fidelity to Big Business the Republican Party seems to approximate to the Conservative Party: but against that nothing could be more conservative than a Conservative Democrat from Georgia or the Carolinas. Theodore Roosevelt himself was a Progressive Republican, which was something like what we call a Tory Democrat. Franklin Roosevelt is a Progressive Democrat. It is as such that he has striven to make the Democratic Party stand as a whole for Liberalism in the sense the word could still be given in the Britain of 1906, and it is as such that he has secured the adherence of many Progressive Republicans. Generally speaking, one may say that the South is still solidly Democratic, the East predominantly Republican, and the West and Middle West sometimes one and sometimes the other. Finally, it can be said that there is no perceptible ideology to distinguish Republicans and Democrats: the difference between them is a combination of geography, tradition, and economics. Above everything it is a difference of true politics, and for all the mud that has been thrown at American politics, American politics are nearer to the old

politics of the Hellenes, who gave us the word, than they are anywhere else on this globe. The fascination of them is potent; they make British politics look like Mrs Gamp beside Cleopatra.

What contributes as much as anything to the liveliness of American politics is the shortness of the time when nothing is happening. The President is elected every four years. The House of Representatives is elected every two years. In 1910 the Senate was still elected by the legislatures of the States. Regardless of population, each State sends two Senators to Congress. These are elected every six years and are re-eligible, but one-third retire every two years, so that the old members are always twice as numerous as the new members, which gives the Senate a stability of opinion compared with the House of Representatives. Besides the National Senate and House of Representatives, which together form Congress, there are the State Legislatures consisting of State Senates and State Assemblies or Houses of Representatives or Delegates. In some States the Senators are elected for longer than the term of the State Assemblymen, Representatives, or Delegates. The head of every State is the Governor, who is the constitutional descendant of the Governor of colonial times. His term of office varies from one year to four years. In New York State he was elected for two years, now four. Roughly, he may be said to stand in the same position to his State as the President does to the United States as a whole.

In 1910 one of the reforms that was being pressed both by Progressive Republicans and Progressive Democrats was an amendment of the Constitution by which a popular vote should be substituted for election to the National Senate by the State Legislatures. This was opposed by the bosses of both parties, because it would weaken their influence. When Theodore Roosevelt returned in 1910 Governor Charles E. Hughes, after four years of fighting with the conservative forces of both parties in New York, had resigned to become one of the judges of the Supreme Court. Theodore Roosevelt was determined to secure the election of a New York Governor who should be independent of the bosses, and at the Republican State Convention in Saratoga he forced the nomination of Henry L. Stimson, the Secretary of War in President Franklin Roosevelt's second and third Administration, with a progressive programme.

The Democratic State Convention was held in Rochester, and the Democrats, scenting domestic strife among their opponents, nominated John A. Dix for Governor and looked forward to victory. At this Convention Franklin D. Roosevelt was a delegate for Dutchess County. This was the first part he played in active politics.

The counties along the Hudson river were Republican in much the same way as the rural districts of south-east England are Conservative ; but there was good Democratic support in the towns like Hudson and Poughkeepsie, and in Poughkeepsie this had been strong enough to return a Democratic Assemblyman for Dutchess County at the last election. Mayor Sague, the Democratic Mayor of Poughkeepsie, thought that Franklin Roosevelt would make a good candidate, and it was suggested that Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, another country-gentleman Democrat, should give up his seat in the Assembly and contest the Twenty-sixth Senatorial District, which included Columbia and Putnam Counties with Dutchess County. Chanler said, "No, thank you," to that suggestion. No Democrat had been elected for the Twenty-sixth Senatorial District since 1856 except once in 1884, when a Democrat was elected in a three-cornered fight. So the nomination was offered to Roosevelt, who accepted it, possibly with the idea that he would be offered the next nomination to the Assembly district of Dutchess County only, which with his personal pull in Poughkeepsie he might hope to win. His firm in New York thought he was mad ; so did his family. So no doubt did the local party leaders in Poughkeepsie.

Three days before the local convention was held he answered the summons of the local Democratic leaders by walking into the office of the Dutchess County Chairman without a hat, and dressed in riding-breeches and top-boots.

"You'll have to take off those yellow shoes and put on some regular pants," said the Chairman censoriously.

Three days later, on October 6, Franklin D. Roosevelt was nominated by District Attorney Mack, who gave the audience the sum total of the young man's achievements up to date. He was permanent chairman of his class at Harvard, a member of the New York Milk Commission, and a trustee of the Seamen's Institute.

At dinner that night Roosevelt said, "I accept the nomination with absolute independence. I am pledged to no man ; I am influenced by no specific interests : and so I shall remain. If elected I will give my entire time to serving the people of this district."

The Poughkeepsie *Eagle* decided that Mr Roosevelt's contribution to the campaign funds must have been well over four figures, and that Senator Schlosser would not be greatly disturbed by his candidacy.

The only contribution Roosevelt did make was to pay the expenses of his own campaign without help from the Party funds. ✓ There were no Party funds available for a seat it was hopeless to think of winning.

Roosevelt had only about a month for his campaign and decided to concentrate on his personal appeal to the country farmers, leaving the towns to the Party organization. It would have been impossible to get round the three counties with a horse and buggy. So he went in a car. This was considered a piece of folly, because in 1910 farmers still regarded the automobile as an invention of the devil to plague farmers. It was a bright red open car, and Roosevelt shared it for the campaign with Richard E. Connell, who for ten years had been trying to secure election to the House of Representatives for the Twenty-first District, which included, with Dutchess, Putnam, and Columbia Counties, another on the west bank of the Hudson. Connell made a point of addressing schoolchildren. He reckoned that when they grew up they might make him Congressman Connell.

Mrs Roosevelt was able to attend only one meeting: a fourth child was on the way. She has recorded that her first experience of hearing her husband give a political speech made her nervous, because he spoke slowly and sometimes paused so long that she was afraid he would dry up altogether.

He looked thin then, tall, highly strung, and, at times, nervous. White skin and fair hair, deep-set blue eyes and clear-cut features. No lines as yet in his face, but at times a set look of his jaw denoted that this apparently pliable youth had strength and Dutch obstinacy in his make-up.

It was not eloquence which won that election for Roosevelt: it was his ability to make friends with all those farmers within a minute of shaking hands with them; it was his laugh and his country knowledge-
11 ableness and an occasional tactful break-down by the red car which necessitated its rescue by reliable and old-fashioned horses. On November 8, Roosevelt was elected State Senator for the Twenty-sixth District and Connell to the House of Representatives. It was a Democratic triumph all along the line that autumn; but Roosevelt had a larger majority in his district than Dix, who defeated Stimson for the Governorship. The Republican bosses had declared war on Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

That Franklin intended to take his election to the New York Senate seriously was shown by his moving with his wife and children into a house in State Street, near the Capitol of Albany.

"Here in Albany," Mrs Roosevelt would write one day, began for the first time a dual existence for me, which was to last all the rest of my life. Public service, whether my husband was in or out of office, was to be a part of our daily life from now on. To



F.D.R. ABOUT 1911

him it was a career in which he was completely absorbed. He probably could not have formulated his political philosophy at that time as he could to-day, but the science of government was interesting, and people, the ability to understand them, the play of your own personality on theirs, this was a fascinating study to him.

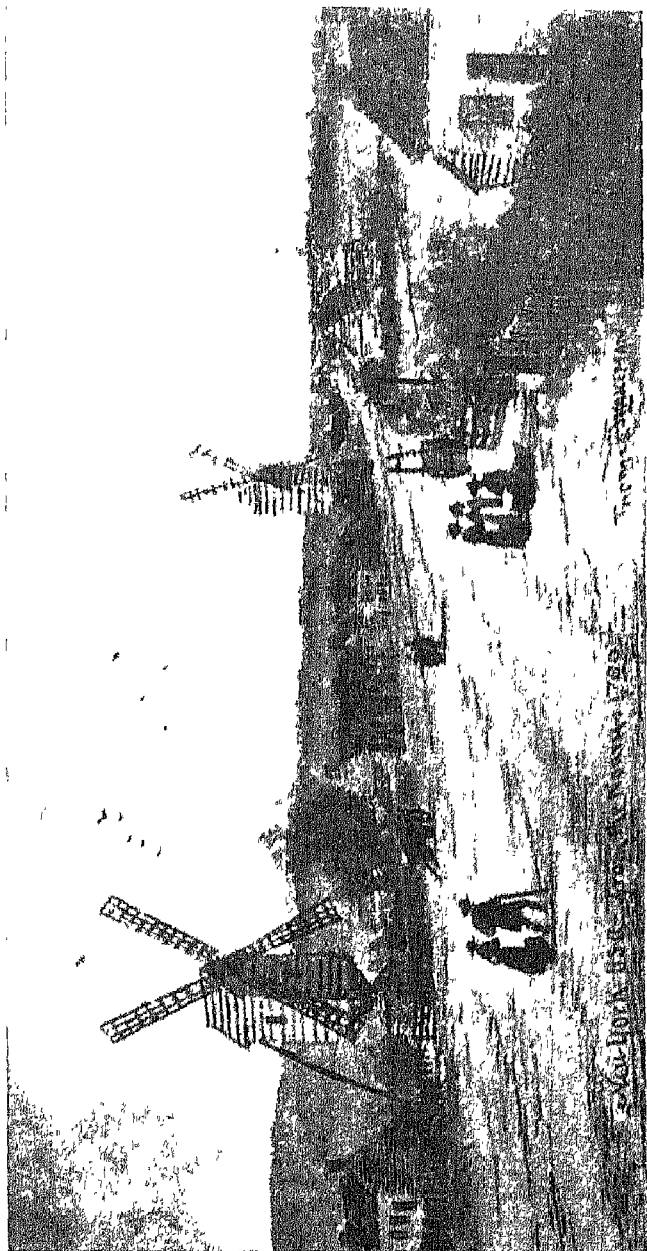
It is questionable whether except Lloyd George any prominent British politician of this century has possessed that interest in people *qua* people which has always absorbed Roosevelt. They have all regarded them as people *qua* voters when they have tried to understand them. This is not to suggest that Roosevelt has not acquired a profound understanding of people *qua* voters which is unequalled in the world of to-day ; but to one student of his career at any rate it seems to have been always a creative rather than a merely utilitarian understanding.

Further of that time Mrs Roosevelt has written :

I looked at everything from the point of view of what I ought to do, rarely from the standpoint of what I wanted to do : . . . So I took an interest in politics.

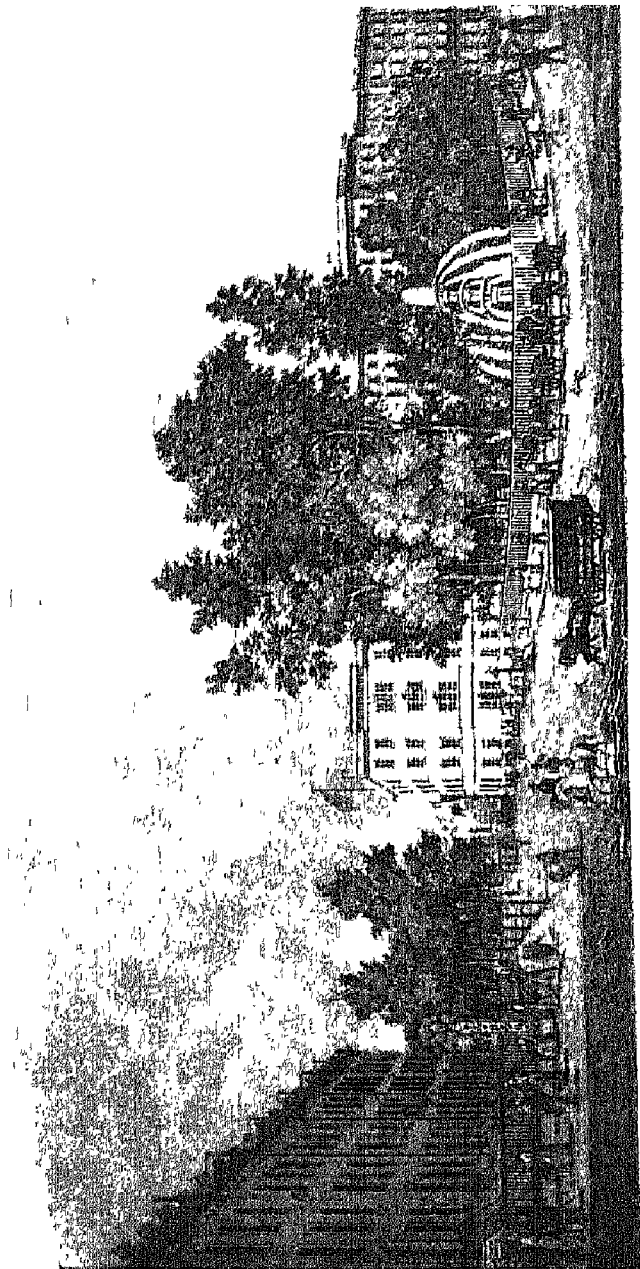
Mrs Roosevelt's introduction to practical politics had a certain dramatic quality. The first serious business of the Legislature was to elect a Senator to succeed the Republican Chauncey Depew whose term would expire on March 4, 1911. The ever brightening prospect of a Democratic victory next year in the Presidential election made the personality of the new Senator whom the Democrats had secured by their victory in the State elections important on account of the Federal Spoils, in the distribution of which he would have a large say. The personality chosen by Boss Murphy, of Tammany Hall, was 'Blue-eyed' Billie Sheehan, of Buffalo. There was nothing outrageous against Sheehan, but he was tied up with various public utility companies in New York, had poured out a lot of money for the Democratic campaign, and was a typical product of the Party machine for mutual back-scratching.

The Progressive Democrats did not think he was an expression of the spirit in which they wanted to appeal to the country, and another candidate, Edward M. Shepard, was put forward, to whom Roosevelt among others gave his support. A few days before the Democratic caucus was held to nominate the candidate word came from Boss Murphy that Sheehan had been chosen by Tammany. Roosevelt went for a walk with himself in Albany. He had to decide whether he would come to Murphy's heel, or kick his own heels in the air and by doing so make an enemy of the Party machine. Theodore Roosevelt as twenty-three-year-old Assemblyman had kicked his own heels in the



MAIDEN LANE IN 1700 NEW YORK FROM THE NORTH

In 1720 one of the Roosevelts built his own mill on Maiden Lane
Water-colour by Thomas Wakeman



BO' ING GREEN, about 1820
 owned and subleased most of the blocks
 around Bowling Green
 Coloured lithograph by Charles Magnus

well known the

air when he demanded the impeachment of Judge Westbrook. We can presume that such an example was not lost upon the twenty-nine-year-old State Senator a generation later. Anyway, the newly elected State Senator did kick his heels in the air—he had broken the record for the high kick long ago at Groton. Sheehan should not be the Democratic nominee. To secure his election the Party required 101 votes: they had 114 potential votes, and were sitting pretty. It became Roosevelt's object to see that those 101 votes were not obtained, and this was done by staying away from the caucus and persuading eighteen Democratic Assemblymen to stay away with him. A manifesto was issued declaring that in the interest of the Party they had refused to attend the caucus

for the reason that they believed the votes of those who represented the people should not be smothered in the caucus; and that the people should know just how their representatives voted untrammelled by any caucus action; and that any majority secured for any candidate should be credited to the representatives in the Legislature and not some one outside the body. 125

Two more legislators joined the rebellion, and the fight was on.

The mutineers were of all ages—one of them was over seventy — and of all kinds. The unifying spirit was Franklin D. Roosevelt. If one of them had bolted the little party would probably have broken up. Every day the Legislature met to elect a Senator for Congress. Every day the Legislature had to adjourn with the Senator unelected. The mutineers used to gather at nine o'clock in the morning at the Roosevelt house in State Street, march along to the Capitol, record their obstructive vote, and then spend the rest of the day till two in the morning sitting around in the library of the Roosevelts' house, smoking cigars and swapping stories. The smoke of those cheap cigars went through the ceiling of the library and reached the children's nursery. The nursery was moved up to the third floor. The mutineers smoked on. Roosevelt had the art of making it all seem such good fun.

Pressure of every kind was brought to make the mutineers surrender. Resolutions in favour of Sheehan came in from clubs, societies, and committees all over the State. Country editors supported Sheehan with their pens. Prominent business men were brought to the entrances of the Capitol to warn the rebels that unless they supported Sheehan their political careers were over. Even mortgages were suddenly called in by banks, and Roosevelt had to rush round raising funds for some of his fellow-mutineers.

But the mutineers held out. January passed. February passed. Then on March 29 there was a fire in the Capitol, and the Legislature

had to meet in cramped, improvised quarters. The exasperated Assemblymen and Senators could stand no more of it. Murphy was notified that they would vote for anybody to get away from Albany. Finally Murphy gave way, and Justice James A. O'Gorman, of the State Supreme Court, was offered as an alternative to Sheehan. Roosevelt, anxious to stop the whisper that the opposition to Sheehan had been dictated by anti-Catholic prejudice, felt it would be necessary to support another Catholic, even if he was a nominee of Tammany. There was nothing against O'Gorman except that. He was a good choice, and the mutineers agreed to accept him. On the sixty-fourth ballot he was elected United States Senator. The mutineers presented their leader with a cup.

This long battle of ten weeks gave an impetus to the movement in favour of electing United States Senators by popular vote. The following year Congress secured for the resolution the necessary two-thirds vote, and by May 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution had been ratified by the requisite number of States Legislatures to give it effect. "Slowly, for better or for worse," say the Beards,¹ "the composition of the Senate changed, as shouting from the housetops in senatorial elections was substituted for the negotiation of the caucus."

Tammany's opinion of Franklin D. Roosevelt was expressed by 'Big Tim' Sullivan, of Tammany Hall, when he looked through the list of the new legislators :

"Well, if we've caught a Roosevelt we'd better take him down and drop him off the dock. The Roosevelts run true to form, and this kid is likely to do for us what the Colonel is going to do for the Republican Party, split it wide open."

¹ *The Rise of American Civilization*, by C. A. and M. R. Beard (Macmillan), p. 561

CHAPTER V

ONE guide to a man's disposition is his favourite card-game. Roosevelt is a devotee of the noble game of piquet. Now, the really skilful player of piquet always appears to owe to luck the hand he finally declares and plays: Roosevelt is accounted a lucky player. His political career is an example of masterly piquet play; and when he has made mistakes they have been the mistakes of a piquet player who flouts the wisdom his favourite game should have taught him.

It is beyond the scope of this book to examine in detail the State Senatorial activities of Roosevelt; but he threw himself into them wholeheartedly, and discovered before he was thirty that politics was what he wanted from life: not politics for the sake of politics, however, but politics as the equipment of statesmanship. He caused a sensation in the Senate by "rejecting an appropriation intended to benefit his district. The other Senators of both parties sat as if dazed during the sacrifice made by the young insurgent." The whole sum allotted to Dutchess County for the repair of the bridge over Wappinger's Creek had not been wanted, and the balance should be returned to the State Treasury, Senator Roosevelt argued. This was certainly a new angle on politics. Perhaps it was a precocious manifestation of statesmanship.

One of his jobs was to serve as Chairman of the Forest, Fish, and Game Committee of the Senate. A law was being passed to amalgamate the Forest, Fish, and Game Commission, the Forest Purchasing Board, and the State Water Supply Commission into a new Conservation Commission. This taught him a good deal about the problem of conservation, and he had the benefit of advice from Gifford Pinchot, who had been closely associated with the conservation and reclamation schemes of Theodore Roosevelt. The Agricultural Adjustment Act and the Tennessee Valley Authority of twenty-two years later owed something to that committee room in the Capitol of Albany.

Finally, it is to be noted that he voted for a resolution in favour of women's suffrage to which the Democratic party machine was opposed. That vote for women's suffrage is all that his wife recalls of his activities as a State Senator.

In the autumn of 1911 the Assembly had to be re-elected, and the Democratic bosses were determined to have their revenge upon the mutineers against Tammany. They preferred a Republican majority



CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

Roosevelt as a State Senator voted for women's suffrage.
Drawing by Bayard Jones

to the re-election of the insurgents. They were successful. But the ringleader himself had another year to run as a Senator. So he was able to inveigh all over the State against Bossism.

Here is a specimen of Roosevelt's oratory during that December taken from a speech made at Buffalo :

"Cassidy in Queens went out on the toe of a boot last week. McCooley is hanging on by the skin of his teeth in Brooklyn. The Bronx has thrown off Murphy's domination. McCabe in Albany will be succeeded in the spring by a young Democrat who can defeat the Republican machine of Boss Barnes. Cornelius Collins has lost his grip. Murphy and his kind must, like the noxious weed, be plucked out, root and branch."

It sounded as if the Celtic twilight was turning into a dark and stormy night.

And the voice which denounced Boss Murphy and Boss Barnes of the Empire State in December 1911 is the voice which would denounce Boss Hitler and Boss Mussolini of the World State in another December exactly thirty years later.

A little while before that speech Roosevelt had been to see Woodrow Wilson, whose career as Governor of New Jersey seemed so auspicious for the regeneration of the great Democratic Party. Wilson had prevented the election of the Democratic boss of New Jersey to the United States Senate. Wilson had secured the passage of a direct primary law through the New Jersey Legislature. Roosevelt himself had been foremost in the fight for a similar law the progressives were hoping to pass through the New York Legislature.

Wilson asked Roosevelt what chance he had of any votes in the New York delegation to the Democratic Convention next summer if he should compete for the Presidential nomination. The young politician assured him he would have about a third of the delegates in his favour, but that of course they would be useless under the unit rule. The unit rule is that the delegation supports the candidate chosen by the majority at the caucus; and it was a strong weapon in the hand of the bosses. However, the effect of this meeting was to convince Roosevelt that Wilson was the right man for the Presidential nomination, and he returned to New York with the enthusiastic intention of doing all he could to promote it. This intention was crystallized in the New York State Wilson Conference, an organization formed to boost Woodrow Wilson.

The Republican camp was divided. The dynamic Colonel Theodore Roosevelt was taking the lead from Senator La Follette as an exponent of what was called the "New Radicalism," and at Columbus, Ohio, in February 1912 he spoke in favour of the Initiative, by which a certain number of voters could suggest new laws, of the Referendum, by which a vote should be taken to decide whether the people approved or not of a law that was in operation, and even of the Judicial Recall, by which a majority of the voters could annul a decision given by a judge. This put the fat in the fire. President Taft and the Colonel flung names at one another harder and harder all through that spring of 1912. In April Taft quoted from confidential letters between him and the Colonel, to which the Colonel replied by accusing the President of "biting the hand that fed him." State after State with direct primaries declared for Theodore Roosevelt. It was when the New Jersey Republicans declared for him and he was asked how he felt that he answered, "Like a bull moose." The Colonel's supporters became the "bull moose pins," and the Presidential Election of 1912 has gone into history as the Bull Moose Election.

There were violent scenes at the Republican Convention in Chicago which began on June 18, after flagrant rigging of the delegations by the Republican National Committee. A frenzied interval succeeded,

and finally the Roosevelt delegates decided to 'bolt'—that is, to refuse to recognize the Republican Convention and to hold a Progressive Convention of their own with the object of nominating Theodore Roosevelt against Taft.

The Bull Moose party waited anxiously for the result of the Democratic Convention which began at Baltimore on June 24. Much depended for the Colonel on the result. If Champ Clark, the Speaker, should be nominated Theodore Roosevelt would stand for Progressives all over the country; if Woodrow Wilson should be nominated the Democratic Progressives would have a candidate they could enthusiastically support.

Franklin Roosevelt played a big part in securing Wilson's nomination. He went to Baltimore with an unofficial delegation of Wilson supporters a hundred and fifty strong, whose job it was to get about among the official delegates from the South and West and impress upon them that the New York delegation was barking for Champ Clark and growling in Boss Murphy's muzzle at Wilson. The great mass of Democratic voters in the Empire State wanted Woodrow Wilson, not Champ Clark, and if Wilson were given the nomination he could win New York for Democracy. Mrs Roosevelt, dutifully at work on her attempt to understand politics, accompanied her husband to Baltimore. The furnished house they rented had uncomfortable beds, and the owners had left no plate or crockery. Mrs Roosevelt was bewildered by the din, and her social prejudices of that date were shaken when Champ Clark's daughter was carried round the convention hall to help a demonstration in his favour. After a few days she made up her mind to leave Baltimore. This is how she recalls that decision :

It was extremely hot. I understood little about the fight for Woodrow Wilson's nomination, though my husband, I knew, was deeply interested and was spending a great deal of time trying to bring it about. Finally, I decided my husband would hardly miss my company, as I rarely laid eyes on him, and the children should go to Campobello, so I went home and took them up there and waited to hear the result.

Champ Clark had started off with a majority, and this climbed up until at the night session of June 29 it reached the mark which with one exception had always indicated that such a favoured candidate would achieve the two-thirds majority necessary to secure the nomination. On the next day Franklin Roosevelt got wind of a plot by the Champ Clark strategists by which at the evening session two or three hundred Baltimore ward-leaders and their political militia would storm

the floor. The doorkeepers had been told to admit everybody wearing a Clark button. So Franklin Roosevelt, who had a personal friend influential in Baltimore politics, borrowed a hundred of his people and added a hundred of his own from New York, whom he provided with Clark buttons and ordered to enter the convention hall close behind the Clark militia. At a signal the Clark militia unfurled banners and swarmed up the aisles, shouting, "We want Clark !" Immediately afterwards the Wilson militia, who had got in disguised with Clark buttons, shouted with equal fervour and volume, "We want Wilson !" The din became a tumult. The tumult showed signs of turning into a free fight before the rival noises were ejected from the floor.

No doubt it was W. J. Bryan's support of Wilson which fundamentally decided the result ; but it was Franklin Roosevelt's undergraduate trick which turned the scale against Champ Clark at a crucial moment and destroyed his last chance of securing the nomination. The votes for Woodrow Wilson began to mount very slowly ; it was not until the forty-third ballot that he received a majority. At last on the forty-sixth ballot Wilson received 999 votes to 84 for Clark, and on a motion of Champ Clark's manager the nomination was made unanimous.

Away up in the bracing air of Campobello Mrs Roosevelt "received a wild telegram of triumph when Mr Wilson was finally nominated. It read : 'Wilson nominated this afternoon all my plans vague splendid triumph Franklin.'"

One plan was to go and visit Woodrow Wilson at Seagirt, New Jersey, after the Convention.

"I saw Kermit in New York, and he said 'Pop was praying for Clark,'" Franklin Roosevelt told the Press when asked for an interview. Kermit's father, the Colonel, must have been disappointed when Woodrow Wilson was chosen ; but the Progressive Republican Convention was duly held at Chicago on August 5, and he was nominated by acclamation. The Bull Moose lowered his head and charged into the fray. After speaking on the Pacific Coast, in the South, and in the East he had reached the Middle West by October. At Milwaukee on October 14 he was shot by a lunatic as he was leaving his hotel to make a speech in the Auditorium. The bullet entered his chest and would have been fatal but for an eyeglass case, a roll of manuscript in his pocket, and his own iron muscles. "Don't hurt the poor creature," he said, and in spite of his friends' protests he insisted on changing his shirt, which was soaked with blood, and addressing the audience. He spoke for an hour, and only toward the end did he show signs of exhaustion. He was

sent off to a Chicago hospital, where the doctor reported that he could not be sure whether the Colonel would live or not. Woodrow Wilson at Colonel House's suggestion chivalrously announced he would make no more speeches while the Colonel was *hors de combat*. To this Colonel Roosevelt objected :

"Whatever could with truth and propriety have been said against me and my cause before I was shot can with equal truth and propriety be said against me now, and it should so be said ; and the things that cannot be said now are merely the things that ought not to have been said before. This is not a contest about any man ; it is a contest concerning principles."

With great difficulty the Colonel was persuaded by his wife to take a bare fortnight's convalescence ; but on October 30 he addressed a meeting of sixteen thousand people in the Madison Square Garden to close his campaign. The present writer had the good fortune to assist at that astounding feat of vitality. Theodore Roosevelt spoke with what for him was unusual tranquillity and deliberation, but with a sincerity that was most profoundly moving. What a superb piece of humanity he was !

"I am glad beyond measure that I am one of the many who in this fight have stood ready to spend and be spent, pledged to fight, while life lasts, the great fight for righteousness and for brotherhood and for the welfare of mankind."

While the Colonel was making that speech Franklin Roosevelt was lying ill with typhoid fever in New York. So was his wife. And there was the campaign for the Twenty-sixth Senatorial District of New York State to be fought.

At this point there enters upon the scene Louis McHenry Howe, "the quiet, even then rather gnome-like looking little newspaperman from Albany," as Mrs Roosevelt describes him.

Louis Howe was the son of the editor of a local paper at Saratoga Springs who had succeeded to his father's job as correspondent of the *New York Herald*. In that position he covered up-State political news, which included the legislative sessions at Albany. Eleven years older than Franklin Roosevelt, he had spotted him as a man with a great future during the fight against Sheehan, and now he had just laid a bet of fifty dollars in Albany, where he lived, that Roosevelt would be re-elected in spite of all Tammany could do to stop it.

Franklin, "feeling miserable and looking like Robert Louis Stevenson at Vailima," got his wife to telephone for Howe. Howe undertook to run his campaign. One of the features of it was the first use by a Hudson

Do not miss the **COOKING** course from 1:30 to 2:30 Every Afternoon at Finney
SUNDAY CAPITAL NEWS

COL. ROOSEVELT APPEALS TO MEN AND WOMEN OF IDAHO

J. H. Gipson, chairman, and Paul Davis, secretary of the Progressive state central committee last night received the following:

Chicago Ill., Oct. 12, 1912

"Through you I desire to appeal to the men and women of Idaho not to permit themselves to be disfranchised as the court has sought to disfranchise them. It is impossible to protest too strongly against what is literally the infamy of this decision.

"Every upholder of law and order and every sincere well wisher of the cause should take the lead in condemning such utterly reactionary conduct by a reactionary court.

"Absolutely without warrant of law and in the interest only of the great apostles of special privileges in politics and industry, the reactionaries wish to disfranchise the people whom they recognize in the Progressive party as the only party which really and in good faith stands for the people.

"It is an attempt to beat the cause by trickery and chicanery because those who inspired the attempt know that they have no chance of success in a fair and open fight before the people themselves.

"This action by the court has shifted the issue in Idaho to a square issue as to whether or not the people are to be allowed to express their deliberate judgment. It is an attempt to stifle such expression of deliberate judgment by the people.

"It was an infamous thing for the Republican state central committee to bring such an action and the decision by the reactionary partisan court before which it was brought was against the law, against equity against justice and against the whole course of decisions in all our American courts.

"I have a right to ask now that not only every progressive but every honest man and every honest woman in the state stand with us. The Republican state central committee and the reactionary court are counting upon the hope that individually men and women will not take the trouble to write in the names of the Progressive candidates on the ballot.

I appeal to the men and women of Idaho to disapprove and frustrate the outrageous conduct of the reactionaries

(Signed) "THEODORE ROOSEVELT"



THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S PROTEST AGAINST THE "REACTIONARY COURT" OF IDAHO
 Published October 13, 1912, the day before the attempted assassination

River candidate of full-page newspaper advertisements to make known his programme of protection for farmers against the commission merchants. It was quite an elaborate programme of agricultural relief. And it won re-election for Franklin as State Senator, not to mention fifty dollars for the astute and far-sighted Louis Howe.

And that was the beginning of a most remarkable partnership.

At this time Mrs Roosevelt was not too fond of Louis Howe. His cigarettes were a grievance.

I felt that his smoking spoiled the fresh air that my husband should have in his bedroom, and I was very disapproving whenever

he came down to report on the campaign. I lost sight entirely of the fact that he was winning the campaign, and that without him my husband would have worried himself to more of a wreck than he was and probably lose the election. I simply made a nuisance of myself over those visits and his cigarettes. I often wonder now how they bore with me in those days. I had no sense of values whatsoever and was pretty rigid still in my standard of conduct.

At the same time as Franklin Roosevelt was re-elected a State Senator of New York Woodrow Wilson was elected President of the United States. Theodore Roosevelt was second. Taft was third. The combined vote of Roosevelt and Taft would have defeated Wilson comfortably. The conservative Republicans accused Roosevelt of splitting the Party; logic counting the figures of the polling suggests that it was they who split the Republican Party, not he. It can be maintained without extravagance that if Theodore Roosevelt had been elected President there would have been no European War in 1914, and alternatively that if war had come it would not have lasted nearly so long.

In New York State the Democrats had recaptured both houses of the Legislature. Robert F. Wagner, who would introduce the National Industrial Recovery Act and play such an important part in the New Deal twenty years hence, was elected President of the Senate, supported by Franklin Roosevelt. Alfred Emmanuel Smith was chosen Speaker of the Assembly. Both were Tammany men, but both were good friends of Franklin Roosevelt. Across the Atlantic that November a Viennese house-painter had just arrived in Munich to look for work, and Benito Mussolini had just been elected a member of the Council of the Socialist Party in Italy. In the British House of Commons the Unionist members were becoming hysterical. On November 13 the Speaker had to adjourn the House, and as Winston Churchill, the new First Lord of the Admiralty, walked out, the Opposition shouted, "Rat!" Mr Churchill waved his handkerchief in reply, whereupon Mr Ronald McNeill, an Ulsterman, threw a heavy book which hit him in the face. Mr McNeill would be given a peerage later as Lord Cushendun.

During that winter the Roosevelts lived at the Ten Eyck Hotel when the Legislature was in session. Mrs Roosevelt says that there was some talk at the time of her husband's being invited to join the Administration in Washington, but that she was too much taken up with her family to give it much thought. She was half the week in Albany and the other half at home with her young family in New York.

Roosevelt himself led his campaign for farmers' relief against the commission houses and secured the passage of a Bill in that connexion. He also sat on a committee that was considering the problem of vice in New York City and recommending the formation of a 'morals squad' of the police force to close 'vice dens' and harry loose women. It must have been the spur of that committee which pricked the New York police to violent action in the West Forties between Sixth Avenue and Broadway during that winter of 1912-13. The present writer, lying ill in a New York hotel, remembers with gratitude the dramas staged by police vans when rounding up gambling saloons: they were better to watch than the movies were at that date.

Three days before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration Franklin Roosevelt took a holiday from New York vice and went to Washington. Here he met William McAdoo, who was to be the Secretary of the Treasury in the new Administration. McAdoo asked him if he would like to be Collector of the Port of New York. It was a good offer because it meant he would have made good business connexions when the time came to retire from office. The piquet player looked at his hand, and discarded that ace. Then McAdoo suggested he should be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, which meant even more valuable business connexions; but the piquet player discarded that ace also. That afternoon he ran into Josephus Daniels, who was to be the Secretary of the Navy. Daniels asked him if he wanted to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Roosevelt did not hesitate a moment to reply that he certainly did. Like a good piquet player, he had discarded two high cards in order to establish his point, which is what every good piquet player aims at first of all.

On March 17, the anniversary of his wedding, he took the oath of office and resigned from the State Senate. He was not yet two months past thirty-one. Theodore Roosevelt had to wait until he was thirty-eight for the same post.

The cub reporter who covered that ceremony for Associated Press would one day be an assistant private secretary of President F. D. Roosevelt . . .

"It took the Chief twenty years to travel that hundred yards from the State Department to the White House," he said once to a newspaperman.

"Yes," the other replied, "but a hundred yards is the full length of the field."

CHAPTER VI

WHEN Josephus Daniels said that he had offered the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy to Franklin D. Roosevelt because he was the handsomest young man he had met in Washington it may have sounded no more than a light-hearted rebuke to curiosity; but there was some truth in it. Daniels himself was a Methodist from North Carolina, which as a State had a reputation for excessive rusticity, and with his black bow tie and low-crowned broad-brimmed black hat he was himself to the outward view as typical a Tar-heel product as a caricaturist could hope to find. Moreover, he was known to be a pacifist of the Bryan school, and with Bryan himself at the head of the State Department and a Presbyterian elder at the White House the Navy viewed the prospect with a depression that was rendered still more profound by the avowed intention of the new Secretary to make every ship teetotal.

But Josephus Daniels was a shrewd man—indeed, a very shrewd man. He had been in charge of Democratic publicity during the campaign for Wilson. He had already noted Franklin D. Roosevelt's popular appeal. He was probably not unaware of the value of the name merely as a name for the fighting services. And he could hardly have helped being impressed by Roosevelt's refusal of two posts at either of which most young men aiming at a political career would have snatched. It can be presumed that he was also aware of Roosevelt's burning interest in everything to do with the Navy. Finally, he was shrewd enough to realize what an advantage it would be to have as his lieutenant a young man who would be externally as much *persona grata* with admirals and ensigns as he did not expect to be himself or, for that matter, want to be, because there would be plenty to clear up in a naval administration which had tended to stagnate for a decade and was too much under the influence of Big Business and political jobbery.

When with Josephus Daniels and Franklin D. Roosevelt extremes met the combination was a complete success, and if for the way in which the work of the one complemented the work of the other both men deserve equal credit, Josephus Daniels, now living in honourable retirement after serving his country until his eightieth year as Ambassador to Mexico, deserves from the distracted world of to-day a grateful

salute for his choice of that young Assistant Secretary on a spring afternoon thirty years ago.

Eleanor Roosevelt had been too much taken up with her family to give much thought to the possibility of that Washington appointment. When she received her husband's telegram to say he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy she rushed off to consult her aunt, Mrs Cowles, who was in Connecticut at the time. Mrs Cowles was the sister of Theodore Roosevelt and the wife of Rear-Admiral Sheffield Cowles. She had a house in Washington, 1733 N Street, where Theodore had stayed while he was waiting for Mrs McKinley to leave the White House and which ever afterwards was known as 'The Little White House.' It was here too that Eleanor and Franklin had stayed for the inauguration in 1905. Mrs Cowles impressed on her niece that as wife of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy her "duty was first, last, and all the time to look after the Navy itself," and to make life pleasant for young officers' wives trying to keep up their position in Washington on very small pay. She also gave her niece the formula for making calls : "I am Mrs Franklin D. Roosevelt. My husband has just come as Assistant Secretary of the Navy."

After introducing herself like this at house after house Mrs Roosevelt found her shyness rapidly wearing off. It is not astonishing. The British reader should bear in mind that the be-all and end-all of Washington's existence is the business of Government, and that the pattern of deportment is cut to as severe and rigid a design as that of the so much more circumscribed life of a court.

That autumn the Roosevelts took the Little White House from Auntie Bye (Mrs Cowles) and moved in with the family. Mrs James Roosevelt helped them to settle themselves, and her daughter-in-law started off on those calls. She says she spent every afternoon all through the winter paying calls. Among the many others she called on was Mrs Louis Howe, who had moved into an apartment near 1733 N Street. Franklin Roosevelt had lured Howe away from Albany to help him at the Navy Department. He had an idea that Howe would be invaluable to him : he was right. We fancy Mrs Roosevelt's accepting the idea with reluctance. Then she discovered that Mrs Howe had no car, and she used to pick her up in the afternoon with her baby boy and drive her round when she was paying those calls. There were always one or two of her own children in the car. Nevertheless, it was to take some years yet before Mrs Roosevelt would grow really fond of Louis Howe, and be able never to resent his intimacy with her husband : not until the Vice-Presidential campaign of 1920, in fact. Perhaps if she

had made friends with Louis Howe earlier she would have discovered the key to a true appreciation of politics ; but during those first years at Washington she was one of the "slaves of the Washington social system," and still very much preoccupied with the responsibilities of a family of small children. Another son was on the way in the winter of 1913-14, and the calls, twenty to thirty of them every day, became most irksome.

 Mondays the wives of the Justices of the Supreme Court ;
Tuesdays the members of Congress . . . Wednesdays the Cabinet . . .
Thursdays the wives of Senators, and Fridays the diplomats . . .
miscellaneous people were wedged in. . . Saturdays and Sundays
were free for the children.

Then there were the expeditions in naval ships, which Mrs Roosevelt as a bad sailor dreaded ; and there were the visits of inspection to naval bases and dockyards, with long, tiring journeys and the perpetual slight strain of doing and saying the right thing, those visits of inspection which the Assistant Secretary's mother "suspected were prompted as much by his sheer enjoyment of the expedition as they were by obligation." The problems of naval etiquette haunted Mrs Roosevelt. Did she go aboard a battleship first, or did her husband ? What did she do when he was standing at salute ? What parts of a ship ought she to visit ? The Secretary of the Navy himself used to commit plenty of breaches of naval etiquette ; but Josephus Daniels never worried about them like the wife of his Assistant Secretary. Roosevelt himself "seemed to know all without coaching," his wife has recorded :

and I have always wondered how he absorbed knowledge when I had to struggle and ask innumerable questions. Perhaps he grew curious earlier in life. In any case, he has always been able to answer most of the questions we have asked him : and when we thought on occasions we had him trapped and went to an encyclopedia to prove him wrong, almost invariably he was right !

The more closely the career of Roosevelt is studied the more astounding it appears against his handicaps to being accepted as a great man. He wore his knowledge so lightly that only the expert with whom he was matched recognized his expertness : other people were sure his knowledge must be superficial. He never pretended to know what he did not know, and what was worse, he was continually proclaiming his own fallibility. He was handsome and fairly well off. He was socially secure, and he knew how to dress. Therefore he could not be ascending the ladder by his own merits but with the help of social advantages. He was so obviously willing to reap the benefit of those good looks

and charming manners that he could not be sincere ; and in any case, what were his gifts but those of a *matinée* idol, to use the phrase current before film stars relegated *matinée* idols into the dustbin of popularity ? He was too versatile. As a small boy he had told his mother once that he should be ashamed of himself if he could not do at least two things at once. Roosevelt's versatility was further evidence of that superficiality. Then he would laugh too much. That meant either that he could not help his laughter, which argued a lack of seriousness, or that he used laughter as a lubricant, which argued insincerity again. And he always appeared to be enjoying himself, whereas nobody with real depth of character or strength of intellect can enjoy responsibility. Responsibility to a man in an official position must be a heavy weight, and when the public watches a strong man lift a heavy weight it likes to see the muscles bulge and the sweat pouring off him. Lord Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald held office for years merely by sitting one at each end of a see-saw and moaning every time it went up or down that they were balancing the world on their shoulders and therefore could not get off in spite of their longing to be walking about again in a crowd of happily unburdened men in the street. Finally, Roosevelt had the power to attract intense personal devotion, and that was always a bad sign in a politician, because it could only mean a personal ambition which attracted hangers-on who hope to profit themselves by feeding it. Yes, the handicaps had certainly been grave, and that Roosevelt has been able to surmount them suggests as much as anything the measure of the man.

At this point it is as well to remind the British reader that the Cabinet of a President of the United States has no collective responsibility and furthermore that the individual members of it do not occupy a seat in Congress. Therefore if a member of that Cabinet delivers himself of a speech or article expressing strong opinions about policy he is responsible to nobody except the President himself. In the same way an Assistant Secretary, provided he can do so without involving his own chief in difficulties, has a much greater licence to express his own opinions about policy than a British Under-Secretary would have. Imagine the Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty in a largely pacifist Government preoccupied with social reform writing as young Roosevelt was writing in newspaper articles in that winter of 1913-14 :

Our National defence must extend all over the western hemisphere. . . . To hold the Panama Canal, Alaska, American Samoa, Guam, Porto Rico, the naval base at Guantanamo, and the Philippines we must have battleships. We must create a navy not only to protect

out shores and our possessions but our merchant ships in time of war, no matter where they go.

The Navy at that date had been perturbed by a two-million-dollar cut in the Naval Estimates, yet the young Assistant Secretary was able to write without being rebuked or disowned :

The Navy is not fit for war. We have to-day only sixteen ships we can send effectively against the first line of the enemy.

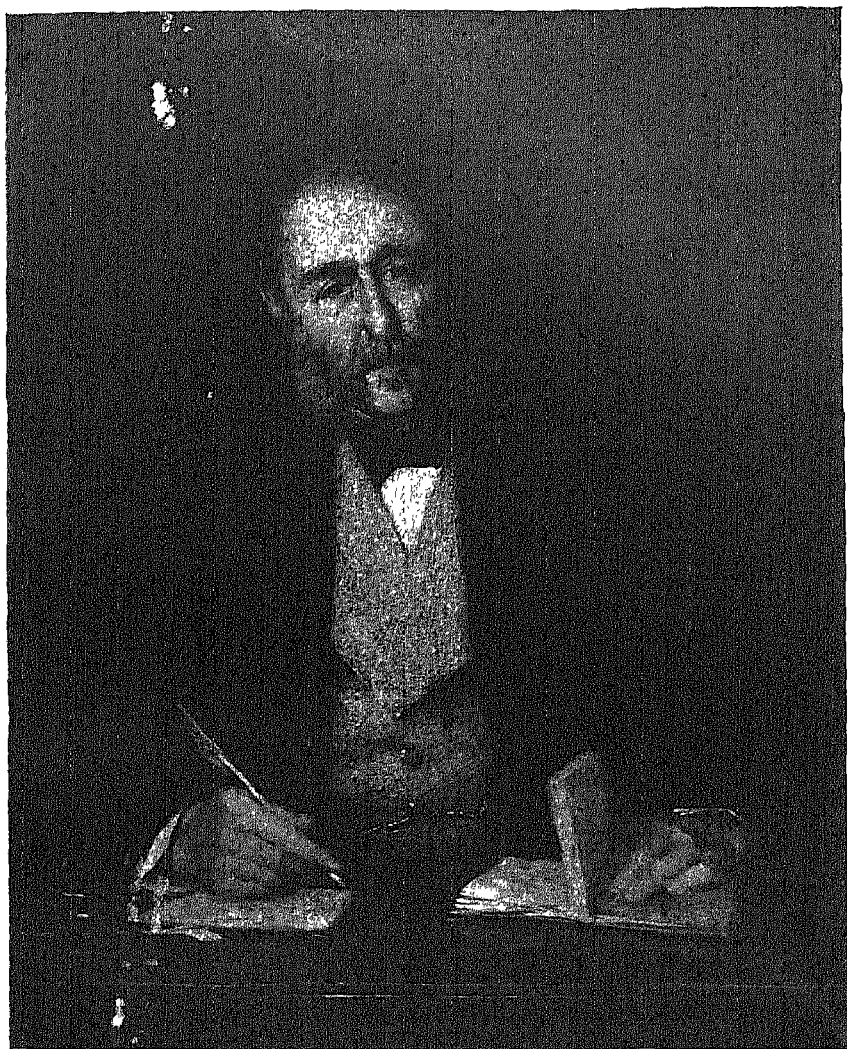
I made a test a few days ago. I asked twenty officers in the Navy which they would rather do in case of a fight between ten battleships of the *Oregon* class and the *Wyoming* ; command the ten *Oregons* or the one *Wyoming*. The answer of nineteen of those officers was that they would rather command the *Wyoming*. The odds were in her favour. The other fellow had sporting blood and said the *Wyoming* might blow up of her own accord.

It is probably true to say that at this date the American nation had not even yet recovered from the hatred of anything to do with war, which was the emotional legacy of that long and terrible struggle between the Union and the Confederacy. The war with Spain had been too brief and easy a task, and so far as it exerted any influence it was to confirm what Franklin Roosevelt was calling the "idiocy" of school text-books that "try to make the American boy believe he can lick ten Englishmen or ten Germans, and that the United States has been gloriously victorious in every war it has waged." The present writer recalls seeing a regiment on a route march through Indiana in the autumn of 1912 and hearing an old man in a local train between Bedford and French Lick declare with stern disapproval that he had not seen so many soldiers since the War, and that they ought to be ashamed of themselves. He recalls further how his host, a very prominent figure of the Tammany world, shook his head and expressed his pity for any parents who had to face the mortification of having a son with so little sense of his material future as to become a professional soldier. This was the mood in which a year later police court judges in some States were sentencing boys to service in the Navy as a punishment.

Roosevelt declared solemnly :

"The Navy is not a reformatory or a penal institution. The recruiting of undesirable persons will not be accepted. I am sorry that there are judges in the country who would so reflect upon the naval service of the United States."

One of the root errors of pacifist propaganda has always been a belief that if the external of war can be presented as contemptible or ridiculous or degrading war itself will be eradicated.



WARREN DELANO (1809-98)
Father of Mrs James Roosevelt II
Oil painting, artist unknown
Hyde Park Mansion



Mrs JAMES ROOSEVELT (SARAH DELANO) (1854-1941)
The President's mother
Oil painting by Prince Pierre Troubetzkoy, 1900

The reader shall not be held up by a detailed account of the practical improvements that co-operation between Josephus Daniels and his Assistant Secretary brought about in the efficiency of the United States Navy, nor by a particular examination of what Roosevelt himself achieved in this direction during those years just before America found herself compelled to take an active part in the First World War. One quotation from Ernest K. Lindley shall suffice :

Roosevelt had under his immediate direction the civilian personnel, the navy-yards and docks, and the purchasing of supplies. It must be stated frankly that the unmistakably affectionate loyalty and admiration which the high naval officers who worked with Roosevelt still express for him make it difficult to draw a line between his work as an administrator and that of various bureau and section heads. All to whom I have talked have given me a picture of very harmonious co-operation, yet all have recalled that his zealous supervision disconcerted them at first.

"I had never been watched so closely in my life," one Rear-Admiral said to me. "After about three months he decided I was all right, and we got along famously for six years. He would sometimes overrule me or suggest an improvement—he kept even the men he trusted most on tiptoe."

And that was written by the judicious Lindley before Roosevelt became President. It was not a tribute to the culmination of a career.

It is no reflection on Winston Churchill to doubt whether he could have won that kind of a testimonial from the Admiralty when he ceased to be First Lord in 1915. His approach to and method of dealing with human nature are entirely different from Roosevelt's. Of course there was never any lack of self-confidence in the British Admiralty, and one of Roosevelt's tasks was to restore to the American Navy its self-confidence. That he should have been able to do this before he was thirty-five years old and when he held only a minor official post was surely to mark him out as an altogether unusually gifted young man. And to Josephus Daniels must be awarded a second medal.

In August 1914 another son arrived. Roosevelt was in Campobello. He had been recalled to Washington on account of the European situation. He came up to the island while his wife was still in bed, taking advantage, as he always would, of a trip in a destroyer, and this was the occasion when he went up on the bridge and steered the destroyer through a channel navigable only at high tide.

On August 18 Woodrow Wilson issued his proclamation of neutrality :

We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

We shall compare those words with the words of another proclamation of neutrality twenty-five years later

Theodore Roosevelt had returned from his Brazilian adventure the previous May. He had put a new river six hundred miles long on the map, but at an expense of physical endurance from which his constitution never recovered. When Wilson issued his proclamation of neutrality the Colonel wrote in the *Outlook* :

Neutrality may be of prime necessity to maintain peace . . but we pay the penalty of this action on behalf of peace for ourselves, and possibly for others in the future, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians at present.

And again in the *Outlook* of September 23, 1914 :

All of us on this continent ought to appreciate how fortunate we are that we of the Western World have been free from the working of the courses which have produced the bitter and vindictive hatred among the great military Powers of the Old World. . . . It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other.

Such words have been used to impugn the consistency of his attitude over the issue for America of peace and war. Theodore Roosevelt had been in Europe that June, where he had seen Colonel House both in Paris and in London. He knew that he was engaged upon a confidential mission for the President, and therefore he presumed that Woodrow Wilson, in calling for impartiality even in thought, must be in possession of secret diplomatic information. That being the case, he did not want to embarrass the Administration by premature demands for action. Within a few weeks he had satisfied himself that Wilson's efforts to keep the United States out of the war were based on theory not on fact, and from that moment his powerful pen never surrendered a drop of ink to expediency. Theodore Roosevelt's point of view at the outbreak of the war was that of a large body of opinion in Great Britain, and if the Germans had not marched into Belgium it is possible, even probable, that a declaration of war would have been postponed until finally forced upon public opinion by the intolerable methods of German warfare.

There had been talk when Theodore Roosevelt came back from Europe that June of his accepting nomination for the Governorship of New York



A CARTOON ON THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF BELGIUM, 1914-18
By H M Brett from the *Invader*

in order to put the Progressive Party back in the main stream of politics like that Amazonian tributary. At the same time Franklin Roosevelt had been approached to stand for the Wilson Democrats against Tammany Hall. Franklin was not prepared to stand unless he received the support of all progressives, and there seems to have been a movement behind the scenes to obtain this. In the event neither of the Roosevelts stood for the Governorship; but the progressive Democrats, still spoiling for a fight with Tammany, decided to have a try to win the election of a United States Senator against the Old Guard, and Franklin

Roosevelt agreed to stand for the nomination. It was an important occasion from the point of view of party politics, because it would be the first nomination decided under the new direct primary law and the first election by direct popular vote. It seemed vital that the electors should be impressed by the impotency of the bosses against such a reform. Charles F. Murphy, who was never afraid to "pander a little to the moral sense of the community" as one of his predecessors expressed it, then made a clever move. He put forward for Tammany an impeccable candidate in James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador to Germany appointed by Wilson. And Gerard accepted. This meant that Roosevelt could not make the issue for the nomination Wilsonian Democracy against Tammany Democracy. There is no doubt Roosevelt believed he was standing with the approval of Wilson, who wanted Senatorial support for the Administration. Most of the Southern Democratic Senators were sun-dried Conservatives. It looks on the face of it as if Wilson let Roosevelt down. And Roosevelt was annoyed.

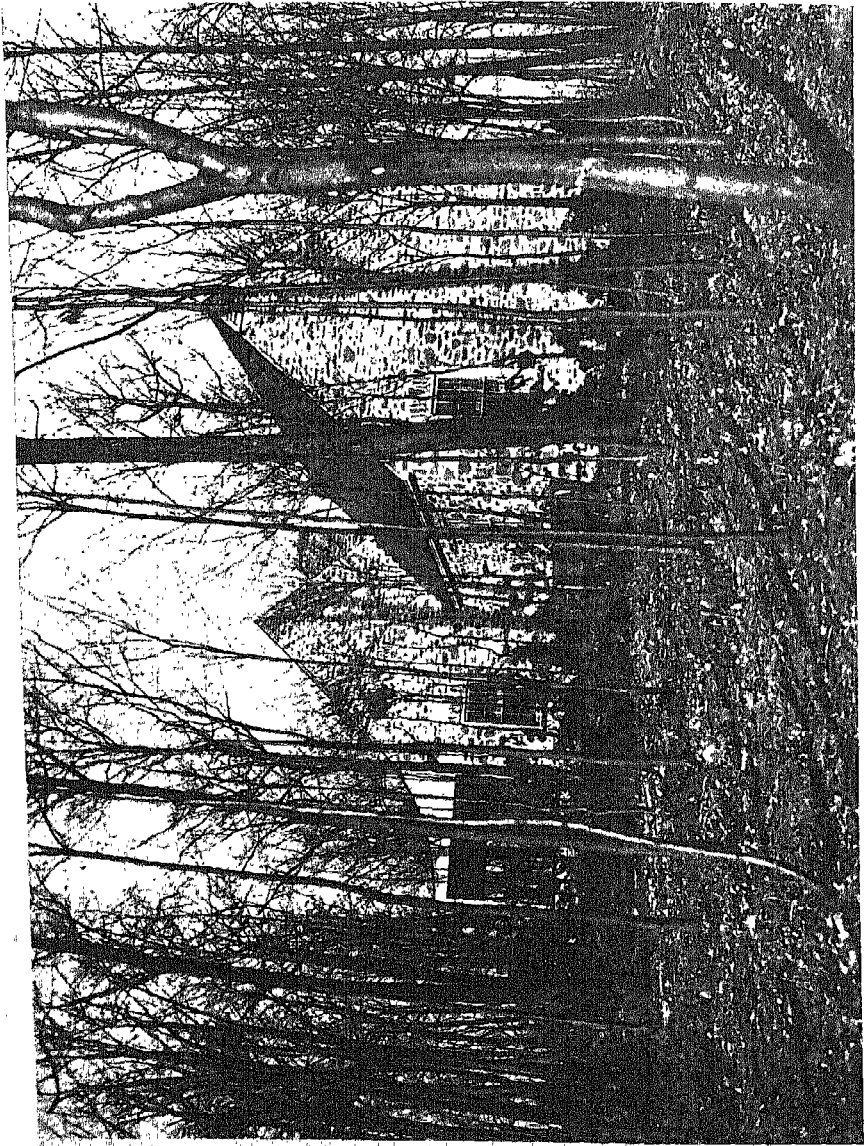
"I am not yet willing to believe that Murphy can drag an Ambassador away from his duties in order to have him serve as a respectable head for a bad ticket. That Mr Gerard will allow himself to be dragged into this fight seems to me absolutely incredible."

We can suppose that Roosevelt, not yet thirty-three, did not feel inclined to give Murphy best and withdraw; and so, finding Gerard did intend to stand, he obtained leave of absence from the Navy Department for three weeks and stumped New York State, denouncing Tammany. In the result he was defeated for the nomination by 70,000 urban votes, though he carried most of the up-State rural counties. When the election was held in November Gerard was beaten by the Republican James W. Wadsworth.

This contest is important not for what it decided at the time but for the lesson it must have given to Roosevelt. In the first place it was a salutary blow to his self-confidence. So far his brief political career had been unmarred by a single setback, and if his failure made a small dent upon the *veni, vidi, vici* mood rapid success is apt to engender, that was all to the good in view of the tremendous post for which destiny was reserving him and for his fitness to play which destiny would test him still more severely in the future. That was the moral lesson of his failure. Then there was the practical lesson. It taught him the unwisdom in politics of not securing one's flanks before any rapid forward advance. Wilson may have let him down, but it was up to him to be sure that Wilson would not let him down. It was



THE TRAGEDY OF THE "LUSITANIA"
Drawing from *New York Herald*, 1915



THE PRESIDENT'S COTTAGE ON THE ESTATE IN HYDE PARK

bad piquet play for the minor hand. He was grasping at a sixième when the cards he was dealt should have told him that his opponent was likely to declare a septième. He played as if his was the major hand, and in an ambitious discard he forgot his defences. Finally, that defeat taught him that if he believed he had an important job to do no other job should be allowed to interfere with it. The Senatorial contest was accepted before the outbreak of war in Europe, and Roosevelt must have wished he had put his pride in his pocket and withdrawn from the fight on the ground of the importance of his work in the Navy Department. It would have been such an opportunity to stress the importance of that and not allow it to be considered so unimportant compared with the post of Ambassador to Germany, which by implication he did when he expressed his surprise at Gerard's willingness to be dragged away from his duties.

5 Mrs Roosevelt remembers very little about that campaign, having another baby to look after ; but she does remember that her husband often said he did not think he would make a good United States Senator. We can suspect that Roosevelt's sanguine disposition was prepared beforehand to defeat defeat by turning it into a victory for himself. He went back to the Navy Department and worked with more passionate energy than ever.

In the spring of 1915 Roosevelt and William Phillips were appointed Commissioners to the San Francisco Fair. Phillips was an Assistant Secretary of State and a great friend of the Roosevelts. Twenty-seven years later he would be President Roosevelt's personal representative in India. Mrs Roosevelt has written a delightful account of their expedition to California ; she does not mention what was the effect on that gay party of the news about the *Lusitania*. President Wilson sent a sharp note to Germany, and Bryan, his Secretary of State, resigned because it was too bellicose. Many people thought Josephus Daniels would resign also. Instead, Josephus Daniels threw himself into the task of preparing the Navy for eventualities. It is certain that his Assistant Secretary did not argue with him about that resolve.

Mrs Roosevelt mentions how much her family was being torn by the "differences between Theodore Roosevelt's philosophy and that of President Wilson and his Administration." She notes that "my husband, being young," like her uncle, who was now fifty-seven but still gloriously young, "wished a final decision could be reached more quickly." And she has often thought "in recent years when my husband has waited while younger admirals champed at the bit for action, of those early days when he played the rôle of a most youthful and fiery adviser."

This is what Theodore Roosevelt wrote when Wilson's note to Germany brought neither apology nor redress for the sinking of the *Lusitania* :

Apparently President Wilson has believed that the American people would permanently forget their dead and would slur over the dishonour and disgrace to the United States by that basest of all the base pleas of cowardly souls which finds expression in the statement, "Oh, well, anyhow the President kept us out of war !" The people who make this plea assert with quavering voices that they "are behind our President." So they are; well behind him. The farther away from the position of duty and honour and hazard he has backed, the farther behind him these gentry have stood—or run.

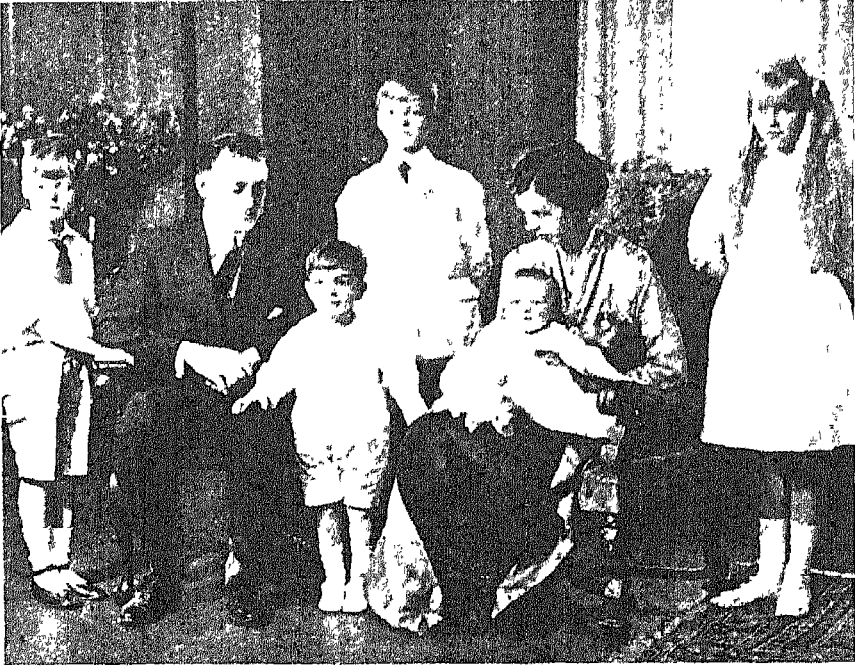
Ernest Lindley says that the training cruise for civilians on the reserve battleships was one of Franklin Roosevelt's pet ideas and that he probably talked it over with Theodore, to whom "he was still close."

Certainly in all his speeches during that summer of 1915 he was proclaiming, "We must deal now with the matter of munitions and preparations on a large and complicated scale."

He was working very hard for the Navy, and suddenly went down with appendicitis. Mrs Roosevelt, who had been acquiring more and more independence and now thought nothing of "managing quite a small army of moves" between Washington, Hyde Park, and Campobello, was fetched by wire from the island, and in the train she heard her name being shouted by one of the attendants. It was a telegram from Louis Howe to say that the operation had been successful, but Mrs Roosevelt was not at all grateful to poor Howe, because she hated being the centre of attention among the other passengers. She was still at the mercy of sudden and sharp fits of self-consciousness.

During that winter of 1915-16 Roosevelt suffered badly from an infected throat and was finally compelled to take a fortnight's holiday to recuperate at Atlantic City, where his mother arranged to meet him. Within a week he was back at work again in Washington. The Naval Estimates the President was asking Congress to approve were the largest by far in the country's history. There was a great deal for Roosevelt to do.

In March 1916 the Roosevelts' youngest son was born in Washington, but not christened until the family went to Hyde Park in the early summer. There were now five children—Anna, aged ten, James, aged nine, Elliott, aged five, Franklin Delano Junior, aged two, and John Aspinwall. From Hyde Park Mrs Roosevelt took them on to Campobello, where they were marooned until early in October, when her



F.D.R. WITH HIS FAMILY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

husband came up and fetched them away. Mrs Roosevelt notes that on her return to Washington that autumn she was conscious of impending disaster in the air, and one surmises a sudden widening of her outlook. She was no longer so completely centred in her own family. One may surmise further that she watched her husband ripening under the stress of ever growing responsibility. Throughout that summer he had been practically in control most of the time as Acting Secretary of the Navy, because his chief was preoccupied with the Presidential campaign.

It has for so long been the fashion with wisdom after the event to deride Woodrow Wilson that it is salutary to refresh the mind by turning back to look at him against the contemporary scene. It is credible that if Theodore Roosevelt had been elected President in 1912 the United States would have entered the First World War by the winter of 1914-15 and played an effective part in shortening it considerably ; but it remains an 'if.' An unfinished protasis puts no check on the

historian. He can indulge in maiden meditation, fancy free, without a single awkward fact to bring him down to earth. The shortening of the war is not the only possible apodosis. If Theodore Roosevelt had been elected President in 1912, and if he had brought the United States into the war in the winter of 1914-15, the hostility of the vast majority of his countrymen to being involved in it might have been fatal to its successful prosecution. It looks as if Theodore Roosevelt himself recognized this when at the Republican Convention in Chicago that summer of 1916 he received only some ninety votes for the nomination against over nine hundred for Judge Hughes, of the Supreme Court. If he had believed in his ability to bring the United States into the war as a popular action he would have allowed himself to be nominated by the Progressives and forced a three-cornered contest again. Hughes espoused a non-bellicose Republicanism in foreign affairs as ardently as Wilson espoused a non-bellicose Democratism. The fight was a very close one, and that Wilson just managed to win on the post was due to the West and parts of the Middle West which voted for him because they believed he was more likely to keep them out of the war than Hughes, for whom Theodore Roosevelt's martial support was embarrassing. Wilson lost half the German-American vote on account of what was believed to be his hostility to Germany, and he lost all the Irish vote not because of his war against Bossism, but because he was believed to be pro-British. It happens that in the ultimate issues about which this immense Thirty Years War (as General Smuts has well called it) is being fought the British peoples are on the side of the angels; but it is necessary to face the hard and unpleasant fact that there have been more than several moments when the angelic uniform has been recognizable as such only because the Germans have throughout been so enthusiastically and openly and garishly on the side of the devil. It is not proposed to disinter the old arguments about the comparative turpitude of the breaches of martial law committed by Britain and Germany: those arguments were stale before the Peloponnesian War finished. They will crop up whenever one belligerent power lacks the command of the sea and tries to offset its lack of naval bases by substituting the destruction of ships for their capture.

What Woodrow Wilson did was to bring his great country into the war in a spirit of idealism to right a wrong. The great mass of the American people were as firmly convinced that they were keeping the world safe for democracy as the great mass of the British people were convinced that they entered the war to teach Germany that the rights of small nations could not be violated with impunity. If the world



was preserved for hypocrisy instead, the blame must be shared between Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, and after all, the hypocrisy they preserved was better worth preservation than the blood-soaked self-righteousness of the egomaniac nation that was checked. It may be argued that the treatment accorded to Germany after Versailles, like the treatment accorded to lunatics up to the eighteenth century, was more penal than curative ; but that was preferable to discharging a homicidal madman from the asylum with a certificate of sanity granted not by an American President but by a British and a French Prime Minister.

Woodrow Wilson has been made one of the scapegoats of history. Perhaps it was inevitable that a world whose finer feelings had been blunted by four years of modern war should turn upon the man who continued to preach an ideal solution, and on the corpse of his reputation fling the withered flowers they had once worn as emblems of a new Spring for humanity. Wilson has been called an opinionated, vain, humourless, obstinate, and jealous pedant. Perhaps he was all of this, and yet the man who on a night at the end of that March in 1917 sent for a friend in his agitation to ask if there was an alternative to war saw clearly enough what war would spell for his country. It would mean an end of influential impartial opinion; and with the disappearance of that how prone the victors of such a war would be to use their victory not to safeguard the world against future wars but to take a quicker profit from the opportunity of the moment. Wilson feared, too, for the war's destructive effect upon the domestic liberty of the American people. The economic ills it would inflame would demand an ever increasing interference with individual life. Then he turned to himself. He saw prophetically a brief period of adulation while the people were fed by propaganda with exaggerated promises of the better world to be attained by the ordeal of war, and then, with the people's disillusionment when the promises could not be honoured, he foresaw for himself the people's contempt.

"If there is an alternative, for God's sake let's take it," he groaned.

But Wilson could see no alternative, and it was in that mood of foreboding doubt that he resolved to ask Congress for a declaration of war on Germany.

Among those who have assailed Wilson's memory most bitterly Catholics have been prominent : let the present writer remind his fellow-Catholics that Pope Benedict XV was assailed by Protestant critics for the same kind of attitude towards the war as they impute to Wilson, and let him remind them further that Wilson was the first

statesman solemnly to proclaim the necessity of restoring to the map of Europe a "united, independent, and autonomous Poland." This he put forward in a speech made to the Senate on January 22, 1917, nearly a fortnight before diplomatic relations with Germany were broken off. Nobody reading that momentous speech again a quarter of a century later, after three more years of even more intolerable war, should feel equipped morally or intellectually to sneer at Woodrow Wilson. That he was not a great enough man to impose his ideals either upon his own country or upon the rest of the world is a matter not for mockery but for compassion. He was, however, great enough to impose his ideals upon a young man in the prime of his intellectual vigour, a young man to whom the advent of war would give wonderful opportunities to express that intellectual vigour in the practical work that of all practical work fascinated him, and who therefore could hardly be expected to confront the prospect of war in a spirit of foreboding doubt. If, as his admirers confidently expect he will, President Roosevelt should succeed in achieving what President Wilson failed to achieve, he will not refuse to recognize what he owes to his predecessor, and not least to that predecessor's mistakes. History will then have to take Woodrow Wilson out of its flock of scapegoats and turn him back into a shepherd.

When diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany were broken off on February 3, 1917, Roosevelt himself was riding on horseback about the island of Haiti, where he was inspecting the work of the American Marines. He was recalled by cable, and a destroyer was waiting for him at the nearest port. Back in Washington he "plunged into intensive work" as his wife says. With the greatest difficulty he managed to secure her a seat to hear the President address Congress at the formal declaration of war on April 6 :

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything we are and everything we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."



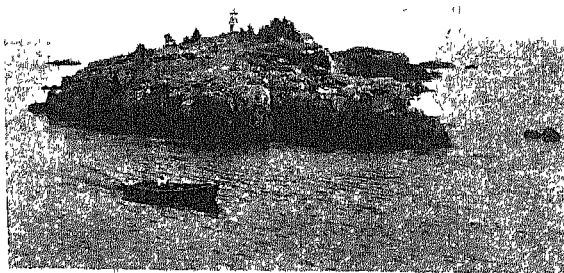
F.D.R. IN CAMPOBELLO

To those words Mrs Roosevelt listened breathlessly and returned home to their new house, 2131 R Street, where Anna and James were playing ball in the garden at the back, "still half dazed by the sense of impending change."

In his office at the Navy Department Roosevelt was at work. Here is how he looked to Ralph Block, of the *New-York Tribune*, at that testing time :

His face is long, firmly shaped, and set with marks of confidence. There are faint wrinkles on a high straight forehead. Intensely blue eyes rest in light shadow. A firm thin mouth breaks quickly into a laugh, openly and freely. His voice is pitched well, goes forward without tripping . . . He is a young man, a young man with energy and definite ideas, as well as a definite objective, who can be generous and fair, but firm to his own cause. . . . He isn't hidden nor inconspicuous. But he is a man whose obvious powers are such as to make you wonder how a democracy of opportunity can afford to leave him subordinated now, when the need is not so much for measures . . . but for men.

Across the Atlantic Lloyd George was thinking the very same about Winston Churchill and wondering if he should try a fall with public opinion by recalling him from the trenches to take charge of the Ministry of Munitions. That July he made up his mind to do "what he had long wished to do."



HEAD HARBOUR LIGHT OFF CAMPOBELLO

CHAPTER VII

A FEW days after the declaration of war Roosevelt was sent for by the President. He found him in his office at the White House with Major-General Scott, the Chief of Staff of the Army.

The President looked at him with mock gravity and said: "Mr. Secretary, I'm very sorry, but you have cornered the market for supplies. You'll have to divide up with the Army."

Pages could be written about Roosevelt's work before war broke out to see that, whatever happened, the United States Navy should lack nothing he could secure for it. He tackled the business in the spirit of magnificent acquisitiveness that inspired the great financial buccaneers of the two last decades of the nineteenth century who developed the commercial potentialities of the North American continent. The Roosevelt of Lend and Lease was already at work, with the same disregard of conventional obstacles.

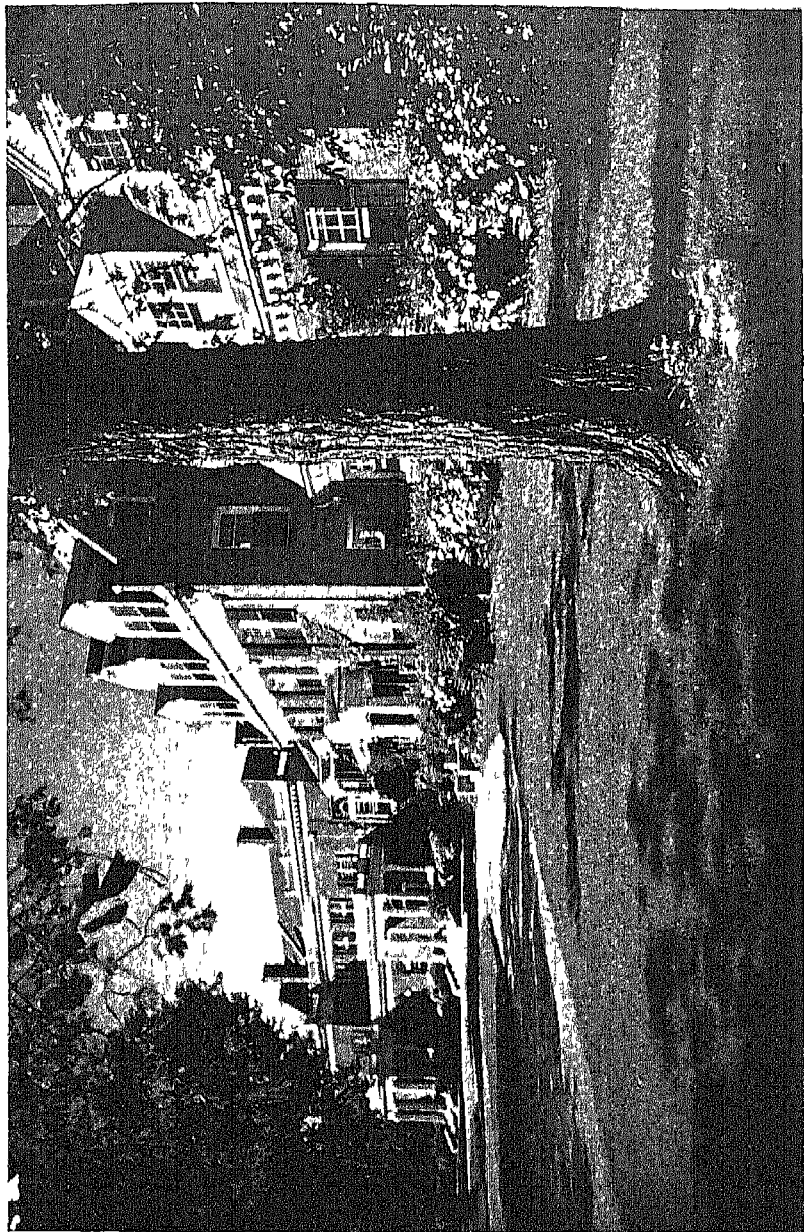
He actually obtained his chief's sanction to send a Naval Attaché to Switzerland, because that was the only way he could get hold of an engine he wanted; and so vague was the State Department about naval affairs that the absurdity was never noticed, and in due course the Swiss Government was invited to send a Swiss warship to the San Francisco Fair celebrations. Through Louis Howe's capacity for obtaining extensive and peculiar information he ascertained that the Chilean Government had its own reserve of sodium nitrate, and decided to buy twenty thousand tons at a fair price for the Navy's powder factories. The Navy's specifications for the quality they required were severe, and the only nitrate up to standard had been cornered by one firm, which was demanding an exorbitant price. Roosevelt argued that the nitrate reserved for itself by the Chilean Government must be the best available, and he took a chance. He took two chances, because it was a rule that foreign Governments should be approached on matters like these only through the State Department, and Roosevelt, not relishing the delays of diplomatic red tape, decided to deal directly with the Chilean Government and appoint Louis Howe as his ambassador and commercial attaché. Howe went to the Chilean Embassy and asked for twenty thousand tons of nitrate for the American Government, for which American colliers would call at Antofagasta. The Chilean official was a little worried by the specifications. They were so very exacting.

Howe told him not to worry. The American Government had complete confidence in the honour of the Chilean Government. All it wanted was nitrate the Chilean Government itself considered good nitrate. The American naval experts, on hearing what Roosevelt had done, began to worry about the quality ; but when the nitrate reached Norfolk it was pronounced to be the finest ever shipped to the United States. No doubt it ultimately contributed to the disappearance of many Germans.

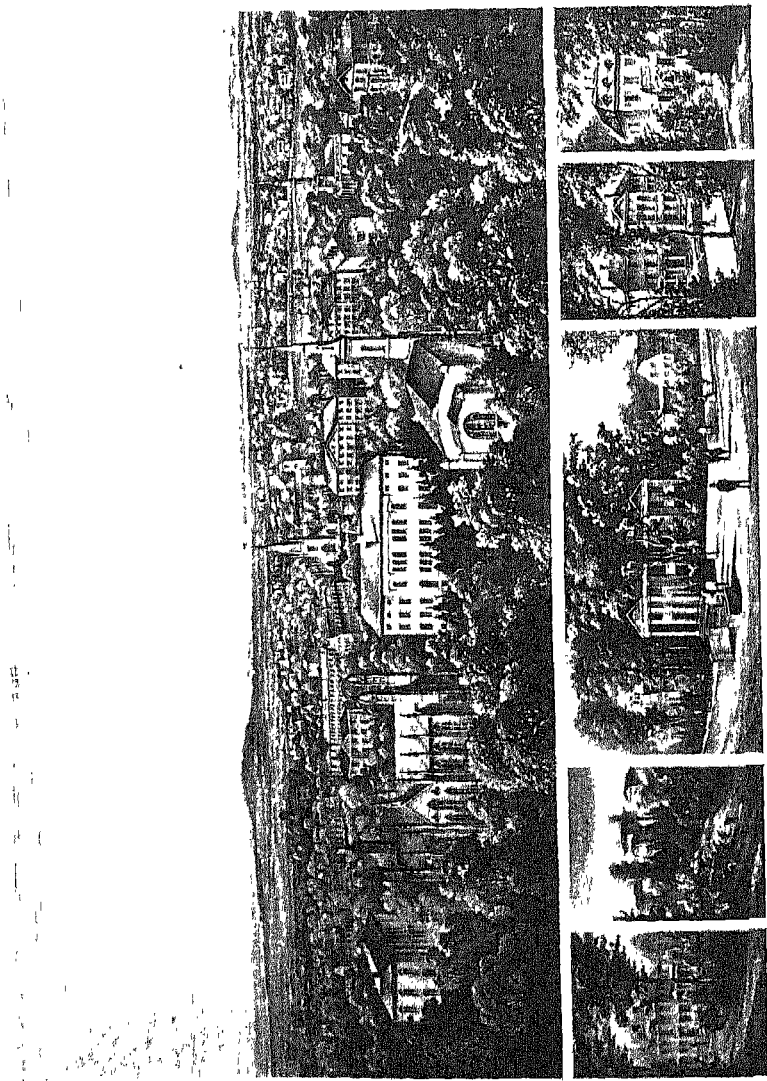
It sounds easy now. Yet the present writer knows only one British Under-Secretary who was ready to take much smaller risks during war-time, and he was eliminated from the executive at the first opportunity. No doubt Winston Churchill would have done the same as Roosevelt if he had still been an Under-Secretary when war came ; but even as First Lord of the Admiralty he was beaten in the end by conventional opinion, and he did not expiate his initiative in April 1915 until a quarter of a century later, in April 1940, when he was called to the helm to weather the worst storm his country had ever faced.

Stories like that of the Chilean nitrates could be multiplied in every direction to demonstrate Roosevelt's willingness to accept personal responsibility for taking a chance in order to save time when time was vital. ✓ As soon as diplomatic relations were broken off with Germany he ordered no less than eight million pounds' worth of guns, ammunition, depth-charges, and other equipment weeks before Congress had voted the money for them. ✓ He persuaded contractors to commit themselves to huge undertakings and sometimes even carry them through before the contracts were signed by the Government. It was not only his willingness to risk his own career ; he could persuade other people to risk their fortunes.

Commandeering was another passion. We in Great Britain know that commandeering is the civil servant's way of making his boyhood's dreams of being a pirate king or a brigand chief come true ; and we have been used to State interference with our lives, our incomes, and our property long enough to take it for granted. In 1917 only a few aged Americans could remember what Abraham Lincoln had done in the way of arbitrariness, and commandeering impressed them as a disagreeable novelty. Roosevelt carried it off as Claude Duval carried off highway robbery, by exercising a polite charm. When he and Louis Howe had a car taken out of a train at Philadelphia and commandeered the generator it was loaded with for a new plant at Erie that was making shafts for destroyers, the hotel in New York to which it was being dispatched could not open for three months ; but the hotel people



GROTON CAMPUS
Colour photograph



HARVARD COLLEGE AND OLD CAMBRIDGE
Coloured lithograph by Julius Kummer (b. 1817)

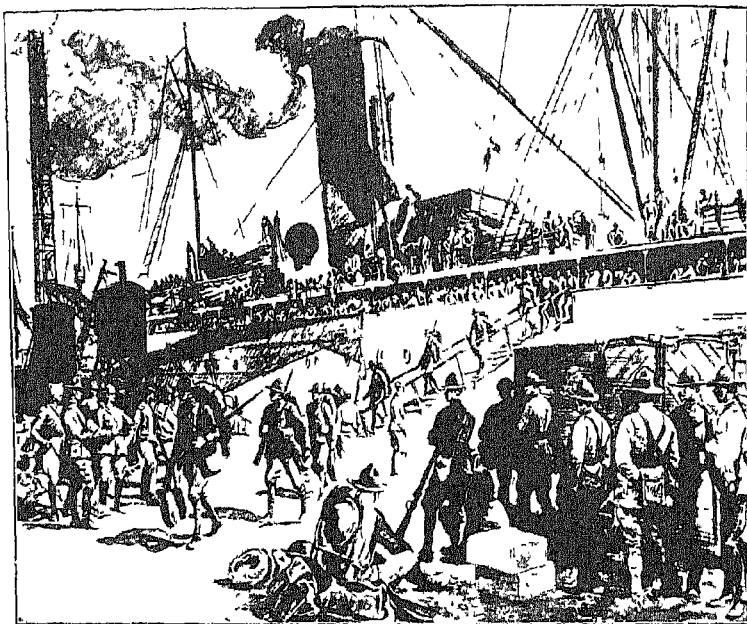
were quite pleasant about it. Roosevelt had a knack of making the disagreeable sacrifices demanded by patriotism seem like a friendly game of golf. The Assistant Secretary had appealed in February 1917 to the representatives of shipping interests to organize a coastal defence fleet of seven hundred and fifty vessels. The response was not what he expected. The owners did not want to play golf with him. So by April he was agitating for Congress to grant authority to commandeer all yachts and small steamers.

"The majority of owners of vessels suitable for coast defence will not sell their boats to the Navy Department except at a price that would amount to the cost of a new boat plus the estimated amount of income for two years plus a good profit. The country must have the service of these vessels, and it should not be robbed," Roosevelt declared.

The authority to commandeer them was granted by Congress in May. Roosevelt had set an example to other owners by selling his own fifty-two-footer schooner, the *Half Moon*. And of all possessions a good boat and a good horse are the hardest for a man to part with. Mrs James Roosevelt felt the loss of the *Half Moon* as much as her son: the little schooner had been the joy of her husband, and was laden with a rich cargo of happy memories.

In spite of the active work he was doing to equip the Navy for its task in the war, Roosevelt himself was wishing all the while that he could get into uniform. Theodore Roosevelt had arrived in Washington immediately after war was declared to offer the President his services in raising a Division for the front. He stayed with his eldest daughter, Mrs Nicholas Longworth, and Franklin and Eleanor went to see him. He was kind to them, as he always was, Mrs Roosevelt says, but he was entirely preoccupied with his desire for active service and much depressed by Wilson's non-committal attitude. In the end the President turned down Theodore Roosevelt's offer. General Pershing and the War Department did not think it would be wise to encourage a star Division likely to attract too many men who would be wanted as officers in other Divisions. The Colonel never got over this rebuff, and it was a mistake, because there is no doubt that the landing of Theodore Roosevelt in France with that Division as a token of American energy would have had a great moral effect in the early autumn of 1917. Theodore returned to brood over his inactivity at Sagamore, and sharpened his pen to criticize the Administration.

In words painfully reminiscent of words which have had to be uttered by too many British statesmen since September 1939, Newton Baker, the Minister of War, announced in June 1917 :



AMERICAN SOLDIERS DISEMBARKING AT BREST
 Drawing from *Harper's Pictorial Library of the World War* (1920)

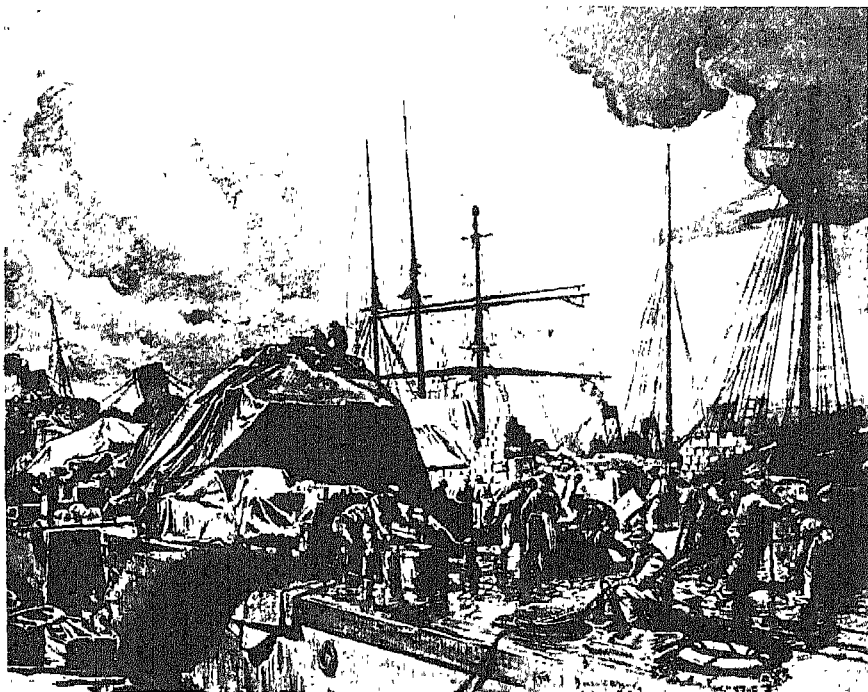
"When we entered this war we were not, like our adversary, ready for it, anxious for it, prepared for it, and inviting it. Accustomed to peace, we were not ready."

And in October he announced, "We are well on the way to the battlefield."

Theodore Roosevelt exploded.

"For comparison with this kind of military activity," he wrote, we must go back to the days of Tiglath Pileser, Nebuchadnezzar, and Pharaoh. The United States should adopt the standard of speed in war which belongs to the twentieth century A.D.; one should not be content with, and still less boast about, standards which were obsolete in the seventeenth century B.C.

All four of Theodore's sons and his son-in-law, Dr Richard Derby, reached the front. Theodore Junior became a lieutenant-colonel; Kermit and Archibald became captains. Quentin, the youngest, a



WAR MATERIAL ARRIVED DAILY FROM AMERICA AT BREST

Drawing by a U.S. Signal Corps artist from *Harper's Pictorial Library of the World War* (1920)

lieutenant in the Air Force, was killed in action. When Quentin enlisted Hall Roosevelt, Eleanor's brother, who was working with the General Electric Company, enlisted with him. The Air Force was the only branch of the service in which he could get round the rule barring those engaged upon the production of war materials from enlistment. Both Quentin and Hall Roosevelt were so short-sighted that Mrs Roosevelt thinks they must have memorized the card for the eye-test to be passed as fit.

When Hall Roosevelt was called to the school of aviation in Ithaca in July his grandmother, Mrs Hall, thought he had no right to leave his wife and small children. Of Mrs Roosevelt the old lady asked why he did not buy a substitute. Mrs Roosevelt said she had never heard of such a thing. "Her old eyes looked at me curiously", and she said, "In the Civil War many gentlemen bought substitutes. It was the thing to do."

Mrs Roosevelt answered angrily that a gentleman was no different from any other kind of citizen in the United States, and that it would be a disgrace to pay another to risk his life for oneself. This, she says, was her first really outspoken declaration against the accepted standards of the surroundings in which she had spent her childhood; and she attributes the change of her point of view either to her husband's influence or to an increasing ability to think for herself. Back in Washington in that autumn of 1917 "real work began in earnest, and all my executive ability, which had been more or less dormant up to this time, was called into play."

Franklin Roosevelt, however, in spite of the way his own executive ability, was being called into play, was still fretting for uniform. He applied to be transferred to the Navy as a serving officer; but his request was refused. What he had failed to achieve in 1898 he was not to be allowed to achieve now. It must have been galling to remember that Theodore Roosevelt when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy had been able to relinquish civilian clothes at once and raise his regiment of Rough Riders for active service. And Theodore had been older than himself.

Supplies and equipment and appeals for field-glasses at a dollar a pair from patriotic owners and chartering cargo boats for the Auxiliary Reserve and pushing contracts for cantonments and training-camps and medical buildings through red-tape entanglements were all very well as an expression of his executive ability, but he was not quite so grown up as to be able to feel that a depth-charge on official complacency was as exciting as a depth-charge on an enemy submarine.

Fortunately for his peace of mind, an opportunity to play an indirect part in active operations occurred when the plan of the North Sea mine barrage was mooted, and for months opposed by naval experts on both sides of the Atlantic. Without Roosevelt's ardent support from the very beginning this gigantic feat of minelaying might never have come to fruition.

The value of the great enterprise is still a matter of debate, because the barrage was not finished till shortly before the Armistice, and therefore its effect on the submarine campaign cannot be estimated; but in the short time it had to prove itself it accounted for enough submarines to make it a matter of regret that it took so long to overcome the opposition of conservative experts without Roosevelt's imagination. Churchill has had his troubles in that line too, and both he and Roosevelt are probably still having troubles with 'no-men' as these words are written.



POSTER USED FOR THE MARINE RECRUITING CAMPAIGN, 1917

Meanwhile Tammany Hall had been watching Roosevelt's Washington progress with interest. In 1917 it invited him to make the Fourth of July oration, and he accepted. In June 1918 Charles Murphy sent an emissary to offer Roosevelt the nomination for Governor of New York. The feud was over, an unregretted casualty of the war. Roosevelt, however, was clinging to the idea of getting into uniform, and he did not feel the Governorship of New York would compensate for that coveted gold braid. And if he was not to achieve active service he believed it was his duty to remain at his desk in the Navy Department. He refused the nomination, and suggested Alfred E. Smith as the right candidate for the Democratic Party. The moment had come to consolidate party unity and cut free from religious prejudice.

Al Smith had been good friends with Roosevelt ever since he had acted as Murphy's diplomatic agent in the negotiations between Tammany and the insurgents at the time of the Sheehan business in Albany. He was a Catholic who had fought his way up from the humblest beginnings in New York City to prosperity. Murphy had pushed him along politically as a young man. He had been a member of the New York Assembly from 1903 to 1915 and Speaker of it for the last years of his membership. After that he had been Sheriff of New York County, and now he was President of the Board of Aldermen of Greater New York. William Church Osborn, a distinguished lawyer, who had been associated with Roosevelt in the Sheehan fight, was to run against him in the primary; but Roosevelt's support of Smith made Osborn's chance of nomination negligible, and, indeed, it was only gone on with to give the people of New York an opportunity to note how deeply the hatchet had been buried.

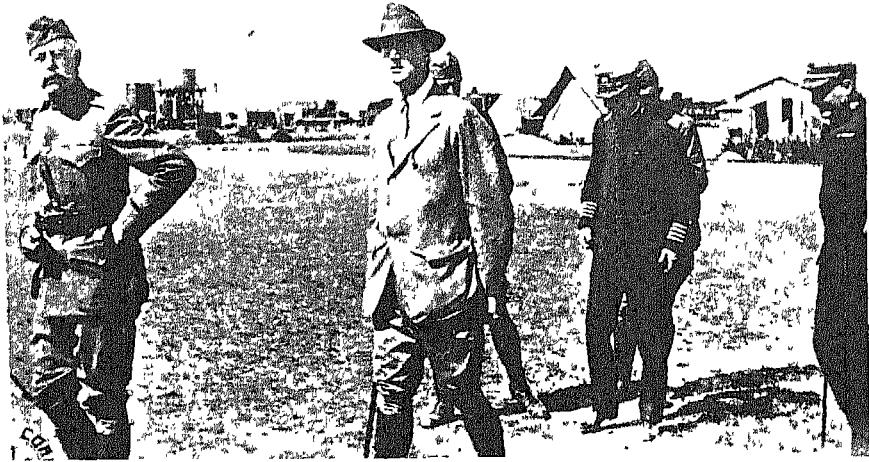
Roosevelt sent this message to Smith when he was nominated:

I see that you have been called the "best-equipped man for this office." May I tell you that this is not only true, but that I trust the people of the State will realize that this is not a mere phrase—it is based upon actual fact. I feel confident that you would bring to the Governorship not only an unsurpassed knowledge of the administration of State affairs, but a single-minded purpose to carry on these affairs for the liberal and progressive good of the State as a whole.

That autumn the Congressional elections all over the country went heavily in favour of the Republicans. The mood of 1912 in the United States followed the mood of 1906 in Great Britain. The mood of 1918 in the United States anticipated the mood of 1922 in Great Britain, and both were disastrous moods for the rest of the world.



THE LIBERTY LOAN, 1918
Painting by Walter de Marcs

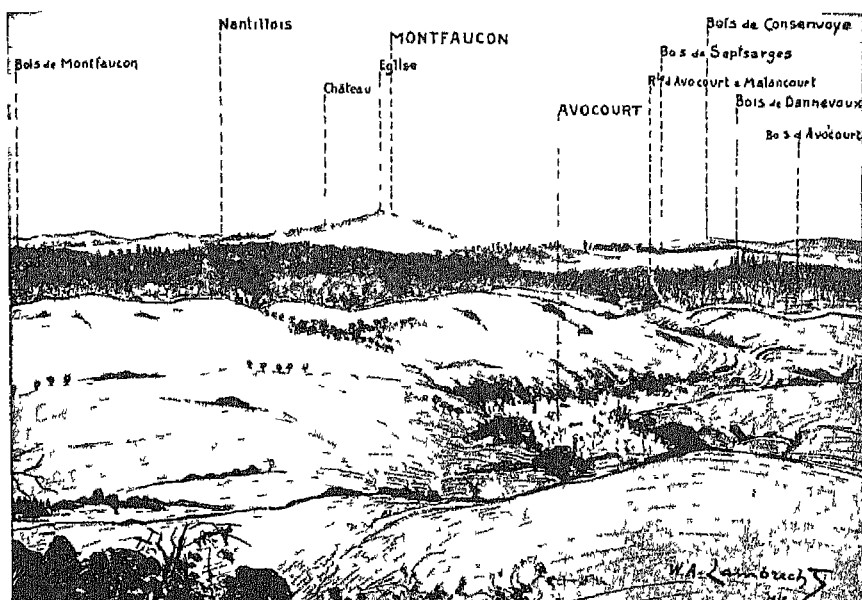


ADMIRAL PLUNKETT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY F.D.R.,
and Staff Officers of the U S Navy at the Naval Railway Battery, France, 1918

Al Smith, however, did not share in the Democratic set-back ; he just managed to beat Governor Charles S. Whitman, and entered upon a notable decade of progressive leadership which would culminate in his winning the nomination as Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1928. He was now forty-five years old.

It would be amusing to know if Roosevelt used that refusal of his to run for the Governorship of New York as a lever to attain his heart's desire for active service. At any rate, he was soon afterwards given orders to cross the Atlantic to inspect and report on American naval and aviation needs in Europe, with the promise that when he had accomplished this task he should be allowed to go back to France as a lieutenant-commander attached to Admiral Plunkett's railway battery of 14-inch guns.

On July 9 he sailed under secret orders in the newly built destroyer *Dyer*, which was escorting a convoy of troop transports. His wife says what a heartbreak it was to her mother-in-law not to be able to see him off, "for he was the centre of her existence." However, Mrs



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE COUNTRY IN FRONT OF THE AMERICAN LINE
Drawing by W A Lambrecht, 1918

James Roosevelt had her grandchildren to look after at Hyde Park, and Mrs Franklin Roosevelt came back to the stifling heat of Washington to carry on for a month alone with her canteen work and to be kept busy for sixteen or seventeen hours a day

Roosevelt himself was having the time of his life in that destroyer, but as always he was a good correspondent :

July 11th

We can't eat at the table even with racks—have to sit braced on a transom and hold plate with one hand and eat with the other. Three of the officers quite ill, but so far I am all right—making a record

July 13th

During gun drill a green youngster pulled the lanyard on the port gun when it was trained as far forward as it would go. McCauley and I happened to be standing on the port wing of the bridge, and

when the blooming thing went off at the back of our heads and a four-inch shell went past us only a few feet outboard we thought the end had come. Capt. Poteet seemed annoyed.

July 14th

Tell Anna and James to look up these Azores places on the map.

July 19th

Off the Bay of Biscay. . . . This is the second time I have sprinted for the bridge in pajamas and bare feet. I apologised to Poteet before descending, but he said it made an excellent distinctive uniform as long as the Secretary of the Navy does not try to change it to old-fashioned nightgown and carpet slippers.

There is a more than very distinguished ex-First Lord of the Admiralty who still wears an old-fashioned nightgown, and who in a moment of excitement would be quite capable of sprinting for the bridge in it.

July 19th

I do wish you would write me if you can think of any small thing which Mama or the children would like me to get. I would ask you to do the same in regard to yourself, but I fear you would suggest table cloths or feather dusters. If you *could* by any chance think of yourself I *would* perhaps find it in London or Paris.

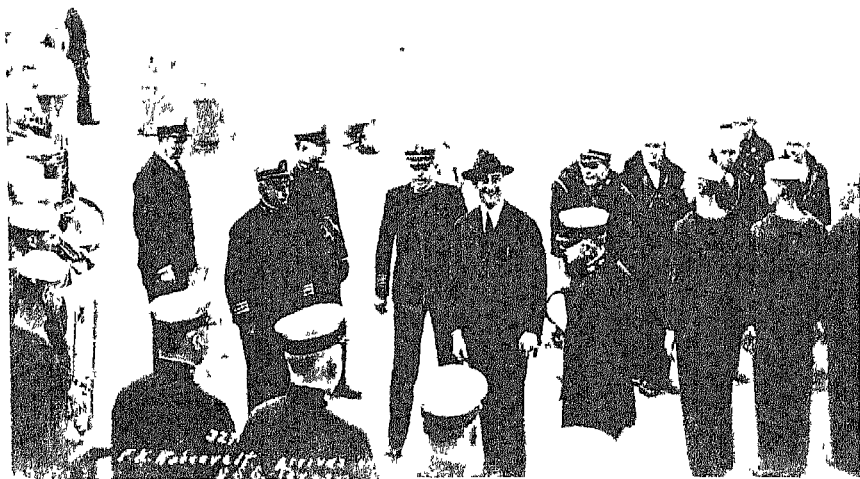
Kiss all the chicks for me and tell them I have their photos in my cabin. I think of you all constantly. We must come over when the world is safe again, but I won't ask you to try a destroyer, though I have enjoyed every minute of it.

Those last two paragraphs of a letter written in the Bay of Biscay reveal more of the man who wrote them than biographical analysis could hope to achieve in ten chapters.

Roosevelt had a grand time meeting people and seeing things and going places in England and France that summer. He lunched with Balfour and asked if nothing would lure the Italian fleet out of Taranto, where it had been lying for a year. He told Milner that the German offensive in March had thoroughly roused the United States. He met Lloyd George and was impressed by his tremendous vitality. He crossed the Irish Sea with Sir Eric Geddes, who was now First Lord of the Admiralty, and had the pleasure of not feeling seasick when the First Lord did. He dined with the Benchers of Gray's Inn when Lord Curzon reviewed the British war effort and Borden spoke for Canada and Smuts for South Africa, and Roosevelt to his horror was called upon without warning to respond for the Allies. He had an audience



FISHING IN SCOTLAND, SUMMER 1918

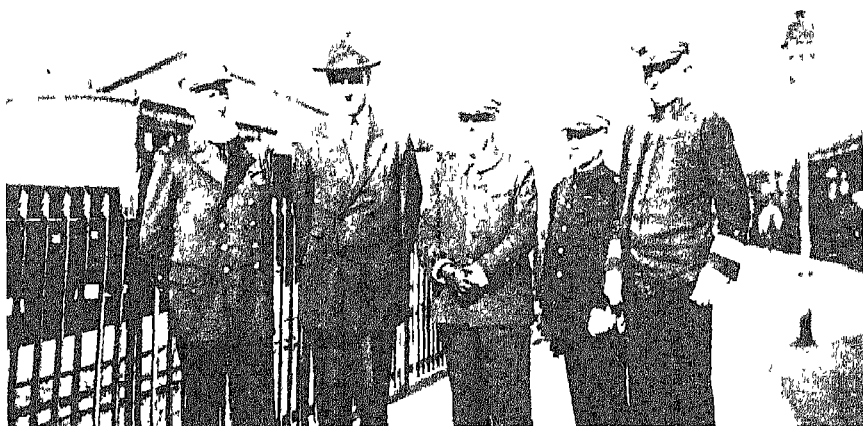


FDR ARRIVES ON USS "TEXAS" IN THE FIRTH OF FORTH, 1918

of King George V, who had just had a "nice letter from Uncle Ted" and was as regretful as Roosevelt himself that he had not been able to be on active naval service during the war.

Then he went over to France and discussed the naval conduct of the war with Poincaré, Clémenceau, and other Ministers. He paid a special visit to Foch to talk about that railway battery of 14-inch naval guns which had been left idle when the battle-cruisers of the 1916 programme were cancelled in favour of intensive destroyer-building. The Army declared they could not be mounted as a mobile battery. Roosevelt vowed they could. Finally they were mounted and sent to France, and it was with these guns that Roosevelt intended to come back and do his active service. He went up to the front line and dined with General Degoutte, whom the present writer remembers as a captain of Zouaves when his guest of 1918 was a Harvard freshman. Captain Degoutte was then in despair because his military career was in jeopardy through his support of the Dreyfusards. *Plus ça change* in France *plus c'est la même chose*, and Roosevelt can be backed to grasp the subtleties of the intricate French situation better than any member of the British Government.

After the visit to the front in France, with an optimism that was excessive even for his sanguine temperament, Roosevelt went to Rome in an attempt to persuade the Italian Government to agree to the

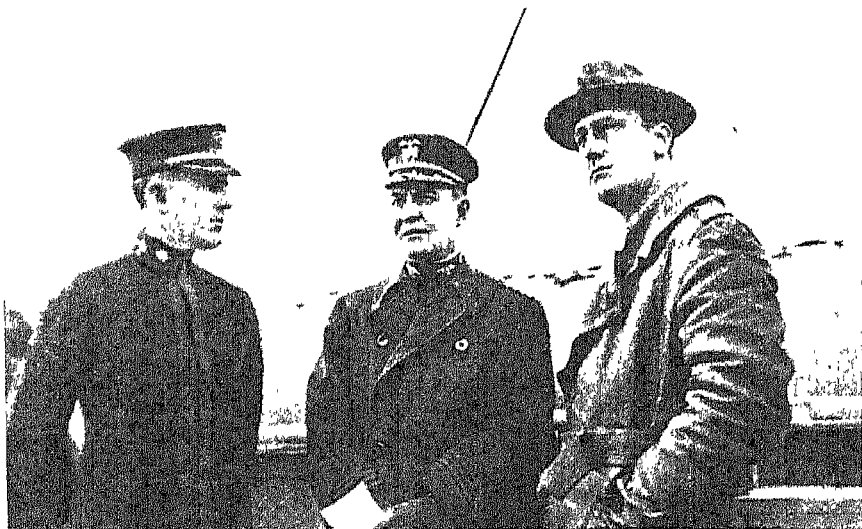


ROOSEVELT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, WITH FRENCH NAVAL OFFICERS AND VICE-ADMIRAL WILSON AT BREST, 1918

Italian fleet's putting to sea. The Americans were planning an expedition to cut the coastal railways into the Balkans. All that was asked of the Italian fleet was to cover the operation. American naval forces were ready to undertake the landing. To persuade the Italian fleet to put to sea was beyond even Roosevelt's charm: the Sirens would soon have starved to death if their rations had been restricted to the Italian mariners of to-day.

Back in France Roosevelt inspected a number of bases, visited the British line and the Belgian line, and then returned to England, where he inspected the stations of the 110-foot submarine-chasers, whose merits he had forced upon the attention of sceptical experts. He also visited the Grand Fleet and studied the operations for the North Sea barrage in progress at Invergordon. The success of the latter impressed him so much that he cabled to Washington to urge getting busy on the material for a similar barrage across the Strait of Otranto. That might have stretched from shore to shore of the Adriatic: the Italian fleet required no free passage.

In September Roosevelt went on board the *Leviathan* at Brest. He and many of the passengers and crew went down with influenza, which in his case developed into double pneumonia. He was met at New York with an ambulance and taken to his mother's house. By the middle of October he was back at his desk, and by the end of the month, having



ROOSEVELT WITH STAFF OFFICERS ON BOARD U.S.S. "GEORGE WASHINGTON," 1919

written his report, he was preparing to get into the uniform of a lieutenant-commander and return to that railway battery of 14-inch guns. Then word came that the Germans were willing to discuss terms of peace.

The influenza epidemic now reached Washington. Roosevelt caught it again, and not only he but all the five children and three of the servants. Mrs Roosevelt and her cook, besides looking after the invalids, managed to send food every day to a Red Cross unit Mrs Roosevelt had undertaken to supply. She found that "these little emergencies of domestic and family life were extremely good training," and was gradually learning that "what one has to do usually can be done." Mrs Roosevelt's progress from perturbableness to imperturbableness is as fascinating as her husband's progress from State Senator to President; no doubt she would deny that even to-day she is imperturbable, which is what makes hers so fascinating a piece of self-revelation.

On January 2, 1919, the Roosevelts sailed to Europe in the *George Washington*. The Assistant Secretary had been entrusted with the job of selling off as many as possible of the American Navy's installations and plants overseas. Four days out they heard the news of Theodore Roosevelt's death. He had been taken to hospital on Armistice Day suffering acutely from inflammatory rheumatism, but to his delight he



ROOSEVELT WITH STAFF OFFICERS AT THE UNITED SERVICE BALL
Albert Hall, London, January 1919

had been allowed home to Sagamore for Christmas, and seemed to be getting better. On January 5 he reviewed a book on pheasants and wrote a message for a meeting of the American Defence Society. In bed at eleven o'clock he said to his man, "Put out the light, please," and those were the last words that powerful voice was to utter.

"Death had to take him sleeping," said Vice-President Marshall, "for if Roosevelt had been awake there would have been a fight."

He was but early in his sixty-first year, only a little older than Franklin D. Roosevelt was when a greater big-game expedition than Theodore ever

dreamt of landed in Africa. It may be that his dislike and distrust of the Wilson Administration would have prevented his giving his support to the Peace of Versailles and the League of Nations, and yet it seems impossible that without a struggle he would have allowed the Republican nomination in 1920 to go to a Warren Gamaliel Harding. If, if, if . . . but such speculation is to vex a mighty spirit and do him wrong. Destiny looked beyond one Roosevelt and beckoned to another.

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt reached Paris on the vigil of the Peace Conference. Woodrow Wilson was just back from his tour of the Allied countries. Strada Woodrow Wilson, Piazza Woodrow Wilson, Rue Woodrow Wilson, Avenue Woodrow Wilson, Place Woodrow Wilson—all hastily thus renamed and enthusiastically mispronounced by the hopeful peoples who were celebrating their confidence in him. They did not realize that on the other side of the table there would sit a mangy old tiger of a Frenchman whose claws were not less sharp because they were concealed by gloves and whose cap covered a skull from the battlefields of Soixante-dix, dug up to avenge the dead of nearly fifty years ago; and they realized even less that on the other side of the ocean affronted Senators were even now resolving that Wilson should pay for what they believed was ignoring their constitutional rights, no matter what their dignity might cost the world.

Roosevelt carried through with efficiency and dispatch the business on which he had come to France. It included such achievements as selling to the French Government for twenty-two million francs the great Lafayette radio station put up near Bordeaux by the American Navy. It also included a visit to the front with Mrs Roosevelt. Roosevelt has always combined business with pleasure, and in this instance the pleasure was further sweetened by the fact that women were forbidden to visit the front.

On February 16 Mr and Mrs Roosevelt sailed in the *George Washington* from Brest to Boston. President Wilson and his wife were on board. Wilson was not good at combining business with pleasure. He spent most of the time at a mahogany desk in his cabin, working at the first draft of the League of Nations Covenant. He was invited to attend some boxing contests, but said he did not like boxing and had no time to waste on watching it. At last with difficulty he was persuaded to lend his presence to a dramatic performance by the crew. One of the chorus in pink tulle skirt and pink socks chuckled the President under the chin as he tripped past him. This was too much for him. Yet when the President reached his cabin he sent a message asking that the boy should not be punished, which shows that a distaste for female



F D R. AND MRS ROOSEVELT AT THE RUINS OF SAINT-QUENTIN CATHEDRAL,
FRANCE, 1919

impersonators did not exclude a sympathy for human nature. Wilson's capacity for exasperating people by doing and saying the wrong thing on such occasions was due to the professorial side getting the better of the Presidential side. Yet Roosevelt, who had a gift for doing and saying the right thing, would exasperate just as many people by favouring the politic at the expense of the pedantic. The enemies of Wilson called him a sincere fool; the enemies of Roosevelt will never hesitate to imply that he is an insincere knave, and a foolish one at that.

During the voyage Wilson frequently sent for Roosevelt to discuss with him the proposed League of Nations. That Roosevelt should have gone to the trouble to acquire for his own study at Hyde Park the mahogany desk on which the first draft was written and the chair in which its author sat suggests that the younger man was impressed at the time by a sense of the momentousness to human affairs of what was being discussed. It is difficult not to feel impatient with critics who deride Wilson as a Johnnie Head-in-air because the League of Nations was a failure. It would not be considered reasonable to call Christianity a failure until Constantine established it with Imperial backing. Anyway, here we are again still splashing about in the soup because the United States refused to sit down at dinner with the rest of the world, and some of the other guests were convinced that Great Britain and France intended to be served first from every course, and, what was worse, deny the raw material to provide a good square meal for those whose helpings they had eaten. If Woodrow Wilson were alive to-day he could retort to his detractors that with his head in the air he could at least see beyond the length of his own nose, which was farther than they could. And if Wilson, too disdainful of public opinion even to read the papers, failed to recognize a danger signal in those Congressional elections held just before the Armistice, with the result that he mishandled the situation at home on his return from Europe, Roosevelt is likely to have benefited from his predecessor's obtuseness. At present the world is sick and is as anxious as the devil to be a monk; but with his experience of the last time a sick world was in a mood for self-discipline and looking for salvation, Roosevelt will never go soaring up into a cloud-cuckoo-land of Messianic complacency. Wilson had had only two years of real political experience before he became President: Roosevelt had had twenty-two years. Besides, the two men differ in the fundamentals of human character. Nevertheless, Roosevelt does sit at Wilson's desk, and if he shall succeed where his predecessor failed the ink which seemed to have faded from the words that Wilson wrote thereon will be clear again upon the page of history.



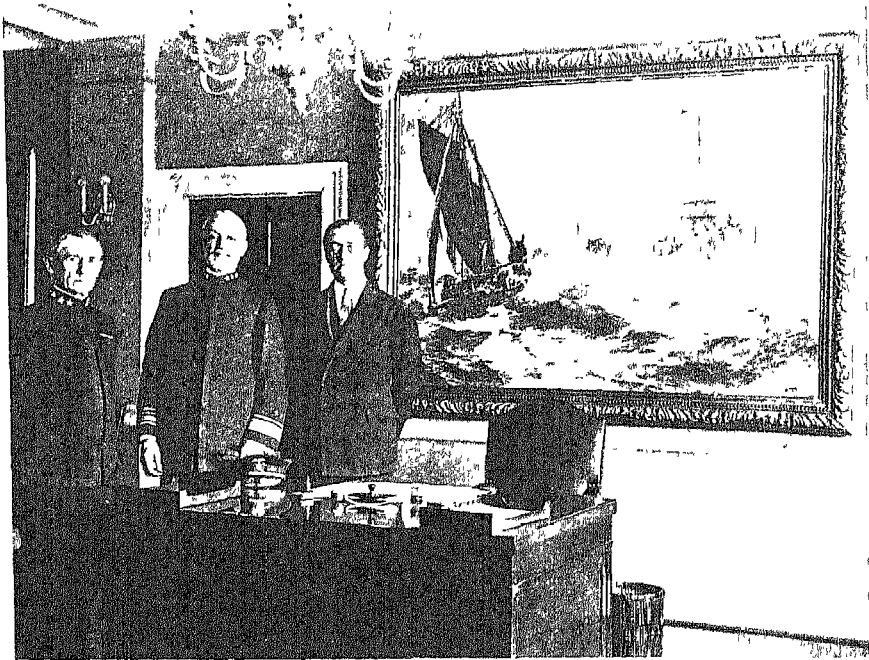
And as the present writer put a full stop to that sentence on December 28, 1942, the radio was turned on to hear the voice of Henry Wallace, the Vice-President of the United States, speaking from the other side of the Atlantic on the anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth to remind his fellow-countrymen and the rest of the world that Wilson was right and they were wrong; to affirm that the peace after this Second World War must be a peace of liberty, equality, security, and unity for the nations; and to pledge his own mighty country to a full and active partnership in the achievement and maintenance of such a peace.

All looked propitious outwardly when the *George Washington* docked at Boston that February of 1919. It was roses, roses all the way and wild enthusiasm from the crowds lining the streets. The Roosevelts, whose car was fifth in the procession towards the Copley Plaza hotel, could see the President standing up and waving his hat at intervals in response to the cheers.

The Governor of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge, at the last minute invited the Roosevelts to lunch, when the President and Mrs Wilson felt unable to attend a social gathering before the speech he had to make that afternoon in the Mechanics Hall. Mrs Roosevelt had her first experience of the silences of Calvin Coolidge and attributed this one to his disappointment at having to entertain her instead of Mrs Wilson. The audience was stirred by Wilson's speech about the League of Nations, which was a particularly good one. Even Calvin Coolidge committed himself to an opinion that the "people would back the President." After hearing that, one feels that there was some excuse for Wilson to misjudge public opinion.

At every station on the way to Washington there were cheering crowds till long after dark. It was Mrs Roosevelt's first experience of the kind, and she found it very moving, because "the people seemed to have grasped President Wilson's ideals." Mrs Roosevelt, as the probable ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women's suffrage drew near, was tackled by some of its opponents, and these arguments seem to have been the beginning of her career as an "ardent citizen and feminist." With the death of her grandmother, Mrs Hall, in that summer of 1919 she appears to step firmly forward out of the nineteenth century into the full intensity of twentieth-century existence. In October she came into contact for the first time with women's organizations interested in working conditions for women.

Roosevelt himself saw much more of the President in Washington when his own chief went away for a holiday, and no doubt he heard a good deal about the tension with Congress. Early in March Wilson



F.D.R. AS ACTING SECRETARY OF THE NAVY IN HIS OFFICE WITH ADMIRAL SIMS AND REAR-ADMIRAL J. S. MCKEAN, Washington, 1919

went back to France, which left the leaders of Congress free to work up the feeling against him.

Roosevelt's work in the Navy Department was still heavy, but he managed to make a few speeches on behalf of the League of Nations. He was evidently doubtful whether the League would succeed in abolishing war, but he declared that it was an experiment demanded by the nations, and thirteen years later he would be saying that the New Deal was an experiment. He has never been afraid to work by trial and error, and his frankness about this has often seemed to put weapons into the hands of his opponents, weapons which they often found were more injurious to themselves than to him. He asked people not to dissect the document which embodied the plan for the League but to approve the general plan, and he warned his countrymen that unless the United States came in, the League would be nothing better than a new form of European Alliance. "But if we do come in I take

it for granted that the League will not demand what the United States does not want. I take it that they will have some common sense."

That is an assumption he will not feel called upon to make when the mess made by this war is in the process of being cleaned up.

Few people pass through the ordeal of war on its administrative side without emerging as advocates of centralization. Besides working for the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, Roosevelt pressed the need for a Federal budget system. He had already discovered that times were changing, and he was anxious to persuade his countrymen to change with them. There is an extraordinary consistency about Roosevelt's progress; he has been marching in the same direction almost from boyhood. The need for the United States to enter the League of Nations anticipated in his mind the point, a long way up that road he was treading, at which it would be necessary for the United States to enter the Second World War. The need for a reform of the Federal budget system anticipated in his mind the point, not so far along the road he was treading, at which those complicated Federal activities called the New Deal would be necessary.

At the end of that Senatorial campaign in 1910 Thomas Lynch, the son of a florist in Poughkeepsie, was convinced that the road along which Roosevelt was walking would lead to the White House. On the eve of Prohibition Lynch bought two bottles of champagne and put them away to be opened when Franklin D. Roosevelt was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency. Those bottles were uncorked at Chicago in 1932, and the candidate was toasted with a sip in a paper cup by everybody at headquarters. What seems strange to the student of Roosevelt's career is that there was not enough champagne put away to fill a goblet for every well-wisher, that so few people should have had Lynch's clear vision of his future, and that none of those who had was high up in the political world. And yet not so strange after all. What vital democracy we should have if every man was a long-sighted Lynch!

In July 1919 President Wilson returned from Versailles to find that Congress was likely to refuse ratification of the Treaty he had signed in that Hall of Mirrors which reflected the vanity of mortals. In September he set out to convert the country on a great speech-making tour. At the end of the month he burst into tears upon a public platform, and that collapse was really the finish of his public life.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY in June 1920 the Republican Convention at Chicago nominated Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding, of Ohio, as their candidate for the Presidency.

His qualification was the fruity voice which democracy (not the party) demands when it feels tired and wants to go to bed.

Thus did that euphonious jelly-fish dilate when he accepted the nomination :

"The resumption of the Senate's authority saved our Republic and its independent nationality when autocracy misinterpreted the dream of a world experiment to be the vision of a world ideal. The Republican Senate halted at the barter of independent American eminence and influence which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered."

But no British writer is entitled to jeer at such turbid gush : within three years Britannia, lulled to sleep by Lord Baldwin's croon of Safety First, would lie entranced like the Sleeping Beauty while the money-spiders busily spun their webs about the unswept palace, and from the poppies of Flanders an opiate was brewed to dull her sense should she wake too soon.

The Democratic National Convention was held in San Francisco at the end of June. Roosevelt was there with thirty up-State delegates from New York, determined to champion the nomination of a man who would stand by Wilson's policies. He had led a successful fight to annul the unit rule, and the delegates with him were not bound to follow the choice of the majority of the New York delegation. In the cities the Democratic organizations had always chafed under Wilson's leadership, and they hoped by nominating a man who would disown it to avert a Republican landslide in November.

On the first day of the convention Horner Stillé Cummings, of Connecticut, who would be the first Attorney-General of the New Deal and was now the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, opened the proceedings by paying a superlatively eloquent tribute to Woodrow Wilson, at the close of which a huge oil-painting of the stricken President was unveiled. It was a dramatic gesture, and the



GOVERNOR COX AND F.D.R.
From *New York Times*, July 7, 1920

delegations, touched by a profound emotion, rose and with their State standards began to parade round the Convention Hall. Only the New York delegation remained seated. Roosevelt went across to Boss Murphy and asked why he did not give the order for New York to join in. He came back to let the up-State delegates under his leadership know that Murphy had told him to wait for a signal. From all over the Hall the cries of "Get up, New York!" were heard even above the noise of the cheering. Roosevelt looked across to Murphy for the signal. The New York delegates did not rise. "Get up, New York! Get up, New York!" The other delegations were growing angry. Jeremiah Mahoney, a big Tammany delegate, clutched tighter at the standard he was holding. Roosevelt ran over to him and pulled at the standard so violently that he had yanked Mahoney off his seat into the aisle before he made him let go. The up-State delegates helped Roosevelt in the scuffle, the Tammany majority helped Mahoney; but it was Roosevelt who secured the standard and, carrying it himself, with the thirty up-State delegates he joined in the parade.

In the end Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio, was nominated. Cox was not identified either with the Wilson policies or the Wilson

Administration, and, as a sop to the Wilsonites, the nomination for Vice-President was given to them. The choice fell on Roosevelt, who was nominated next day, Governor Smith, of New York, making one of the seconding speeches. Earlier in the Convention proceedings Al Smith himself had been put in nomination for the Presidency when Roosevelt had made one of the seconding speeches, and the whole of the New York delegation had voted for him.

It was Josephus Daniels who telegraphed the news of Franklin D. Roosevelt's nomination to his wife :

It would have done your heart good to have seen the spontaneous and enthusiastic tribute paid when Franklin was nominated unanimously for Vice-President to-day. Accept my congratulations and greetings. Will you be good enough to send my congratulations and greetings also to his mother as I do not know her address.

That was how the Secretary of the Navy felt about the personal success of that Assistant Secretary he had chosen just over seven years earlier. The telegram does honour to both men.

Governor Cox and Roosevelt went to see the stricken President at Washington. Cox had never met him. The two candidates had discussed the campaign together. Cox had given no public support to the League of Nations ; Roosevelt had spoken up for it. It would be the weakest plank in a Democratic platform already attacked by dry-rot. Should it be cut out altogether ? In a wheel chair on the south portico of the White House sat Woodrow Wilson wrapped in a shawl—the mere anatomy of a President. It was a painful interview. When the time came for the callers to leave Cox observed with the added deference of compassion, "Mr President, I have always admired your fight for the League of Nations."

The effect was galvanic. The dulled eyes lit up with life. The bowed head was momentarily again erect.

"Mr Cox, the fight can still be won," cried the echo of a voice that was.

Cox's eyes filled with tears. When he and his companion were leaving the White House they looked at one another.

"Roosevelt, we'll make the fight on the League."

It is unlikely that this decision changed the result of the Presidential election adversely. The Democrats were beaten before one speech was made in that campaign. Yet the decision inspired by the shadow of a man on that hot summer's day in Washington was vital to the future of all humanity. If Roosevelt had allowed expediency to sway him in 1920 and had agreed to shelve the League issue he would have thrown

ballast overboard which might have cost him his command of the ship of State when he was steering her on a lee shore twenty years later. That decision in 1920 may not have won him his third term as President in 1940; but if he had disowned the League then and by doing so accepted the participation of the United States in the war as a mistake, it might have shaken his own confidence in himself and thus lost him his country's confidence in him.

Roosevelt made his acceptance speech at a great gathering at Hyde Park. It was Henry Morgenthau, Junior, his neighbour, one day to become his Secretary of the Treasury, who was in charge of the arrangements. Mrs Roosevelt sympathized with her mother-in-law when she saw the lawns being trampled by hordes of people; but Mrs James Roosevelt accepted her place in the "national political picture" with equanimity and made "the necessary adjustments in her life in a remarkable way."

In the speech Roosevelt made on August 9, 1920, to that great gathering at Hyde Park there is not a sentence he would wish unsaid at any time in the future. It is seldom that a biographer can study the *obiter dicta* of his subject without having to drag an explanation from changed circumstances for the change in his point of view. Roosevelt's consistency is astonishing, and it is due finally to his fundamental faith in America's ability to lead the world if she will recognize and accept in the fullest sense not only her responsibility toward the rest of the world but also her responsibility toward herself.

"We oppose a mere period of coma in our national life," he declared that day.

It was unfortunate that the first elections in America of women's suffrage, like those in Britain, should have seemed to favour a period of coma. The hand that rocked the cradle went on rocking the world from habit as a preliminary to ruling it. Yet the odd thing is that the fiercest opponents of women's suffrage were reactionaries convinced that such an enfranchisement would strengthen the red hand of revolution.

Mrs Roosevelt is too unusual a personality to be accepted as Everywoman, and yet there is so much of Everywoman about her that it is worth noting how her own sense of responsibility with enfranchisement suddenly began to grow rapidly, because some of what she did and does politically is within the grasp of Everywoman.

Mrs Roosevelt took her eldest boy James to Groton—he was still three months off from thirteen and nearly two years younger than his father had been when he first went to Groton—and then toward the

end of September set out with her husband on the final four-week campaign trip as far as Colorado. She was the only woman on the railway coach. Roosevelt had already made one long trip and had worried the Republican National Committee by the way he looked like poaching from them some of the Progressive votes. In the West lots of people believed he was a son of the mighty Theodore, and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt the younger was sent on his tracks to correct this impression.

Colonel Theodore, who would presently become a rather dim and unsuccessful Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the new Administration, went so far as to say at a meeting in Sheridan, Wyoming, "Franklin D. Roosevelt is a maverick—he does not have the brand of our family."

His first cousin Eleanor never expected at that date to repay that remark with interest on a political platform. Yet four years later, when seconding the renomination of Alfred E. Smith for Governor of New York against young Theodore Roosevelt, who had just been nominated by the Republican Convention, she would say with that senior-branch Roosevelt smile of hers, deady on occasions, "Of course Governor Smith will win. How can he help it when the Republican Convention has done all it could to help him?"

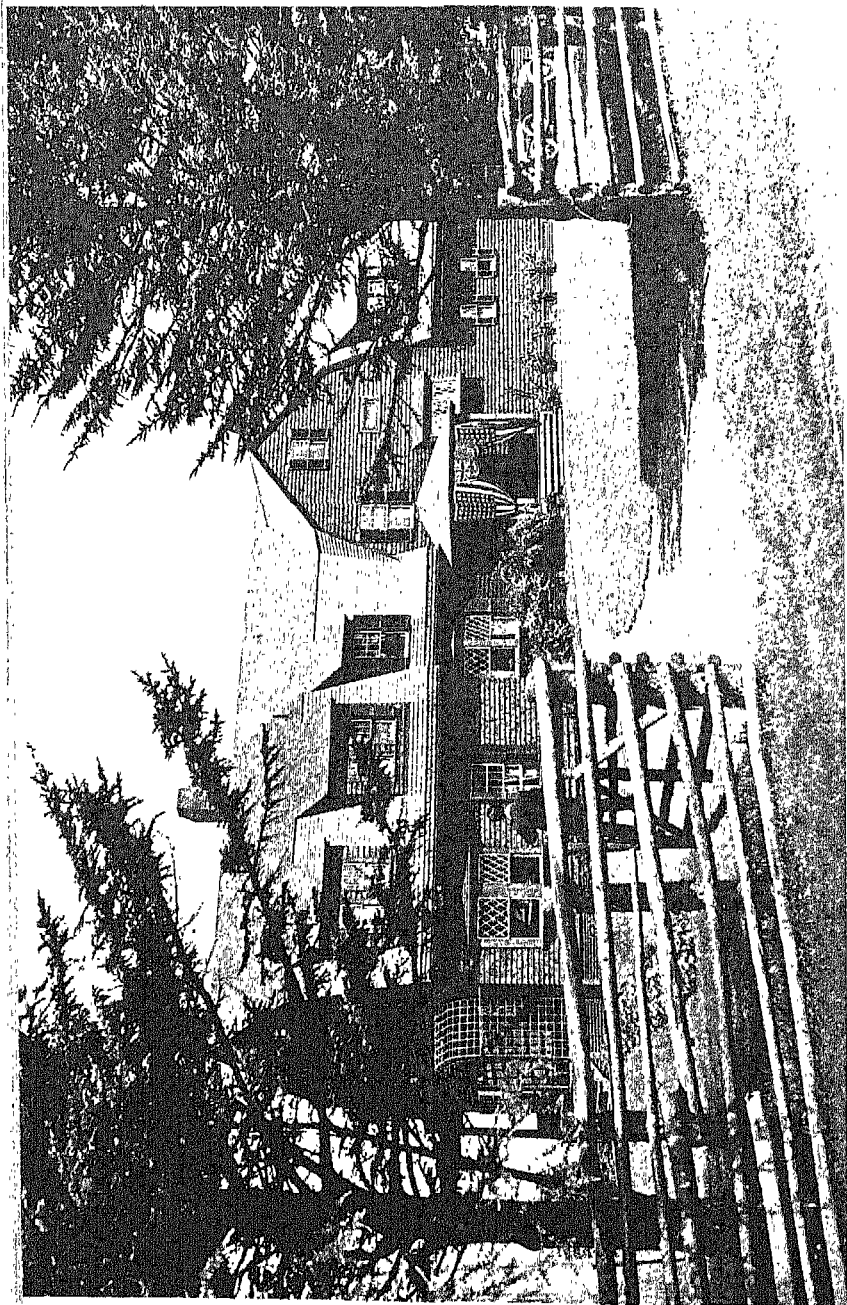
It was during that four-week campaign trip when she was the only woman in the railway coach that her "intensive education" for politics began. She, like her son James, went to school, and Louis Howe was the headmaster. Howe, who had long ago spotted Mrs Roosevelt's potentialities, set out deliberately to educate her. He knew she was still inclined to resent him, and he saw that she was also still inclined to resent the way in which her husband would sit up late talking over the events of the day or setting what his wife thought was a bad example by playing cards.

Howe would sometimes knock at her state-room door and ask if he might discuss a speech with her. That flattered her, and before long she found herself discussing all sorts of topics. He explained newspapermen and their ways, so that she was able to become more and more friendly with them. He coached her in the things that were expected of a candidate's wife, like greeting complete strangers with effusive cordiality and sitting on platforms listening with rapt attention to a speech she had heard time after time. He instructed her in the new sights and explained the new scenery. Like Roosevelt himself, he had a wide store of general information and he was always willing when she was in the mood to give her the benefit of his reading or if she was not in the mood to keep silent.

There were others with jobs during that Vice-Presidential campaign of 1920 who would one day find themselves in the intimate entourage of the White House. Marvin McIntyre, of Kentucky, was in charge of the train and the working out of itineraries. He was three years older than Roosevelt, who had come into contact with McIntyre when he was special assistant for publicity at the Navy Department. Stephen Early, of Virginia, as a cub reporter of Associated Press in the Navy and War Departments had covered Roosevelt's swearing-in as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He was a friend of General MacArthur, and when war broke out went overseas, to return a major in the Reserve. In the Vice-Presidential campaign he was advance publicity man. Thomas Lynch, of Poughkeepsie, was the disbursing officer. And at headquarters in New York there was Miss Marguerite Le Hand, the famous 'Missy,' whom Mrs Roosevelt asked to come and stay at Hyde Park for a few weeks to clear up correspondence when the campaign was over. The few weeks expanded to many years, for she became Roosevelt's private secretary.

When the campaign had ended, as it was expected, in a heavy defeat Roosevelt gave each of the male members of his staff a pair of gold cuff-links, on one link of which the initials of the recipient were engraved, on the other *F.D.R.* This was the origin of the "Cuff-links Club," and it was a symbol of personal loyalty to Roosevelt and to one another. It would be known one day as the "White House gang."

During that campaign Roosevelt made over a thousand speeches and covered more miles than any candidate for national office had ever done. Not once did he or Governor Cox go back on the League of Nations to win votes, and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to rake up any speeches of Roosevelt from the past which blatantly contradicted theories he would advocate years later. Even when he did get into trouble, as for suggesting with what seemed presumption for an ex-Assistant Secretary that he had had something to do with framing the new constitution of Haiti, or for telling a heckler who was objecting to Britain's six votes in the League Assembly to America's one that the United States could have twelve votes if they were wanted, thereby suggesting a realistic foreign policy in the Caribbean which shocked sentimental opinion, he was anticipating to some extent his own realistic Caribbean and Central American policy of twenty years later. Churchill, who in 1920 was Secretary for War and Air, was expressing his "profound conviction that the great Allied Powers would learn to regret the fact that they had not been able to take a more decided and a more concerted action to crush the Bolshevik peril at its heart and centre before it had



THE ROOSEVELTS' SUMMER HOUSE IN CAMPOBELLO

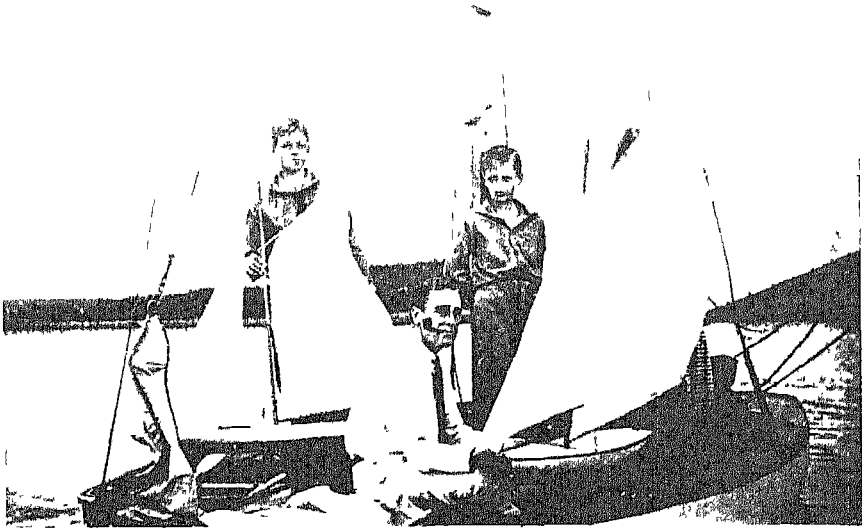
grown too strong," and voicing his surprise that "the simpletons of the Socialist Party should go and bow down and chant hymns and burn incense before the Russian idol." He was affirming, too, his conviction that if the Labour Party came into power it would cast away the Empire which British genius had built up. That the True Blues in their anxiety to expunge red from domestic affairs would one day run the risk of nearly obliterating that colour from the map of the world would have seemed then as preposterous a chimera as Hitler himself. Lloyd George in that very week of the Presidential election was assuring an audience at the Guildhall that Bolshevism was a passing phase which would not survive, though it might be followed by a generation of anarchy which might poison all the nations of the world. And what both Churchill and Lloyd George were saying about Ireland it would be uncharitable to reprint.

Later on, both those great statesmen would advocate policies that were against the popular mood of the moment; but at this date they both chose to run before the wind of public opinion. Roosevelt fought it. He did not go about. He did not tack. He put his craft into the wind and tried to ride out the gale, head on. To be sure, his craft was swamped; but he scrambled ashore himself and saved his political life. Had he run before the gale his craft would have been swamped just the same, and he himself would probably have been drowned.

When the result of the election was declared Roosevelt sent a telegram of good wishes to his successful opponent, Calvin Coolidge, who had discovered in good time the error of the belief he had expressed in Boston the previous summer that the people would back President Wilson, and went off for a strenuous hunting expedition in the Louisiana marshes.

In the new year Roosevelt took up an active partnership in a law firm and accepted the offer of Van Lear Black's Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland to be Vice-President in charge of the New York office. He was also an Overseer of Harvard, and, his voracious activity being not yet quite sufficiently nourished, he took on the job of putting in order the Boy Scout organization of New York, which was in a bad way.

The Roosevelts lived in New York with their two youngest children in Mrs James Roosevelt's house; their own was let. Anna and Elliott were at Hyde Park with a tutor. Eleanor Roosevelt was worried at having no housekeeping to do and bored by the prospect of a social winter. So she learned cooking for herself with an ex-cook of her own now married, and twice a week she cooked an entire meal for the



F.D.R. WITH HIS SONS IN CAMPOBELLO ABOUT 1921

ex-cook's family. She also attended a business school to learn typing and shorthand on the four days she was in New York—she spent the weekends at Hyde Park with Anna and Elliott.

She wanted more to do, however, and when Mrs Vanderlip, the chairwoman of the League of Women Voters for New York, invited her to join the board and make herself responsible for the reports on national legislation Mrs Roosevelt agreed, after insisting at first that she was not competent to do so in spite of her Washington experience and the amount of talk about national legislation she had listened to all around her. Mrs Vanderlip promised her the help of an accomplished woman lawyer, and Mrs Roosevelt, feeling "very humble and very inadequate to the job," started on her work. She really was taking an interest in politics at last. Then Mrs James Roosevelt became distressed because she never saw her daughter-in-law with all this variety of jobs. So she joined the Monday Sewing Class of which Mrs James Roosevelt was a member, and thus once a week they had a definite engagement to meet.

Eleanor Roosevelt had now definitely set out on that career of activity, political, charitable, and journalistic, which was to make the world



THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY IN CAMPOBELLO ABOUT 1921

wonder whether she or her husband was the more remarkable example of prodigal vitality poured out in the service of that world.

It was August 1921. Franklin D. Roosevelt was still six months on the right side of forty. He had not had a rest for seven years ; even his holidays had been of the violent type in which the mighty Theodore used to revel. Mrs Roosevelt and the children were at Campobello. Roosevelt himself was staying on in New York, preparing to join the family for a fortnight in the middle of August.

Van Lear Black reached New York with his yacht and invited him on a cruise. Roosevelt suggested the yacht should take him to Campobello. The weather was thick on the way up the coast, and Roosevelt took over the wheel, being on the bridge for many hours at a stretch before the harbour of Welch Pool was made. A day or two was spent in fishing expeditions, and then Van Lear Black and his yacht left the waters round Campobello.

The Roosevelt family went sailing in the *Vireo*, a little sailing-boat which had been acquired to take the place of the *Half Moon* after she was sold for war work. With the *Vireo* Roosevelt was hoping to make his sons as good pilots as himself. On the way home from one of their

tips a forest fire was seen on the mainland, and the Roosevelts, with their usual combination of energy and social responsibility, went ashore to fight it. After the ardour and exertion of this task they went home, and Roosevelt, "who had been complaining of feeling lazy and tired for several days," thought it might do him good to have a dip in Lake Glen Severn, a land-locked stretch of water inside the beach on the other side of the island. The older children enjoyed the notion of this, and after the bathe was over they all ran the two miles back. Then Roosevelt, feeling better, decided to take another swim, this time in the icy water of the Bay of Fundy. He ran home and, in bathing-dress hardly dry, sat down to read his mail. Presently he began to feel a chill upon him, and he went to bed before supper. Twenty-four hours later he found when he tried to get out of bed that his left leg was lagging, and his temperature was high.

Dr Bennett, a family friend, came over from Lubec and pronounced that it was a severe chill. Mrs Roosevelt sent the children off on a three days' camping trip. Her husband would be all right when they got back. But he was not all right. The children returned to find that their father's two legs were now paralysed. Another doctor was called in, but he would not diagnose beyond a form of paralysis with which he was unfamiliar. Of course, everybody was asking himself the dread question at the back of his mind. Was it infantile paralysis? There was an epidemic of it in New York at the time. *Could* it be infantile paralysis? Could it be a disease that was almost confined to children of less than five? Certainly a common predisposition was a cold bath in hot weather after over-exertion, but there was scarcely a case in the annals of medicine in which a man in his fortieth year had succumbed to such a predisposition. At last, after some anxious days during which Mrs Roosevelt nursed her husband, Dr Lovett, a specialist in infantile paralysis, was summoned from Newport for consultation. The dread question at the back of everybody's mind was answered. It was not an acute chill. It was not acute rheumatism and prostration. It *was* infantile paralysis.

And the prospect of being cured? Well, the initial stage of paralysis might last a month. That would be succeeded by a stationary period which might last another month. Then for any time up to six months the palsy would lessen and pass away except from certain parts of the body in which wasting would occur. Finally, a chronic stage would supervene, during which the atrophy would continue; and, though slight improvement might take place, contractures and deformities would inevitably develop and remain incurable. Incurable! Colder,



A VIEW OF CAMPOBILLO ISLAND
AT THE ENTRANCE OF PASSAMAQUODDY BAY, ca 1777
Coloured engraving by Du Barres



THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1858-1919)
Oil painting by John S. Sargent, 1913
White House, Red Room

far, far colder than the waters of Fundy to the body, was that word to the imagination of a man who, after his heavy defeat in the campaign for the Vice-Presidency, might have read in a newspaper comment upon the result that there was something rotten about the world if the Democratic Party could be defeated on the issue of whether the country should enter the League of Nations. Incurable! It meant that, if in the future he was to achieve anything toward cleansing the world of rottenness, he would have to fight first the hardest battle of all with himself, and however dour his courage, however resolute his will, however lively his hope, the prospect before him was dark.

Something rotten about the world. . . . There was indeed something rotten about it in that summer of 1921, when it was beginning to seem that all the sacrifice of life and liberty and happiness and wealth during the war would not avail to teach mankind a lesson. The people of the United States had just elected the President whose proclamation of a return to "normalcy" meant that the world at last felt itself sufficiently recovered from the agony and stress of four years' war to return to the kind of behaviour which would in due course bring about the conditions favourable for another war. Woodrow Wilson was slowly dying of a broken heart, and the man in whom he had perhaps discerned one whose common touch might succeed where his own academic benevolence had failed had been struck down in his prime by an incurable malady.

Something rotten about the world. . . . In Russia millions were dying of starvation, and the enigmatic figure of Stalin was unknown outside the inner circle of the Bolsheviks. The Poles and the Germans were quarrelling about Upper Silesia; and a queer, shabby little Austrian house-painter with flabby hands and moist red lips and sly, milky eyes which suddenly flashed into mad life was for ever talking, one of thousands who in Germany were blaming everybody except themselves for their misery. That very summer the kind of people with whom this little Austrian was consorting had murdered Erzberger in the Black Forest, and Erzberger had been one of those who advised his countrymen to accept the Peace of Versailles. In Italy Benito Mussolini, with his exuberant voice and dark, glittering eyes and pugnacious jaw, was stirring up the discontented Fascisti he led to acts of violence; but as yet general opinion considered him nothing more important than one of the many unpleasant signs of the times.

Only Winston Churchill of the five major adversaries in those years ahead was already a world-famous personality. In that September of 1921, the Secretary for the Colonies, as he now was, was telling an audience in

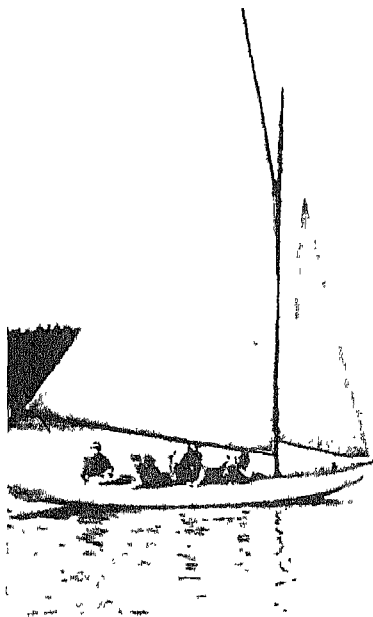
Scotland that the troubles which were agitating the world must be met by peaceful co-operation in two quarters : between Britain, France, and Germany, to rebuild the prosperity of Europe, and between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, to secure peace in the Pacific. Thus simply stated it sounded unanswerable ; but for some time the policy of the British Government in Ireland had been making the rest of civilized humanity wonder if Great Britain had any objective conception of what peace and prosperity meant. Something rotten about the world. . . .

Churchill, Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini. No doubt every one of them has had his moments when the future seemed lost ; but none of them has ever had to face a verdict so frightful and, as it seemed, so final as that given by a Newport specialist to Franklin D. Roosevelt in his fortieth year. That the man could rise above it is, at the moment these words are being written, a pledge of salvation to a world which had seemed spinning to its doom.

That last sentence might annoy Roosevelt himself, because he has never admitted in words that he was dealt what a man with less than his full-blooded self-confidence might have considered a mortal blow. Still, three facts remain : his life was in danger ; he suffered acute pain for many months ; with the knowledge available about infantile paralysis in 1921 any semi-cure he could hope to achieve at his age would require an effort of will and a store of patience almost superhuman. Any hope of a political future seemed the merest fancifulness of self-indulgence. With every wish not to embarrass Mr Roosevelt by sob-stuff it is impossible to accept that illness merely as a temporary inconvenience like a sprained ankle or a cold in the head ; but, if one cherishes a lively belief in providential dispensations it is equally impossible not to accept that illness as a striking example of such.

It cut him out of that corrupt decade of the 'twenties as an active political force except on one or two impressive occasions. It balanced the handicap of good looks, personal charm, comfortable income, and old family. It gave depth to his compassion and breadth to his charity, because his was the kind of temperament benefited by pain and disability. It afforded him time and opportunity to do a great deal of hard thinking. It prevented any more waste of energy on merely physical feats at the right age for such prevention. It compelled his wife to persevere with the politics in which she was beginning to take a real interest when he was struck down and thereby prepared her to sustain and help him in the task destiny was holding in trust for him, should he pass the preliminary trial. It made him a stronger man mentally

and spiritually, and also physically, because infantile paralysis gives compensating advantages to other muscles for those it affects. And finally it gave him that kind of marmoreal serenity and almost Olympian detachment which makes Hitler and Mussolini look like a jack-in-the box and a monkey-on-a-stick.

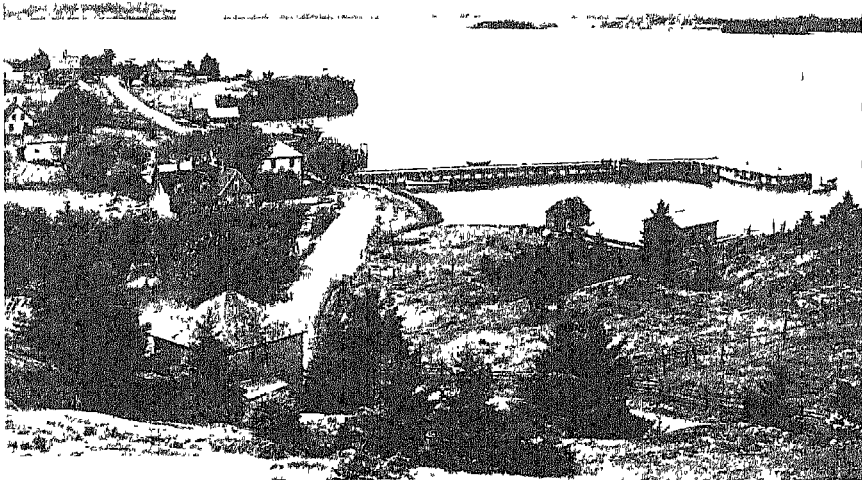


THE "VIREO" IN CAMPOBELLO

CHAPTER IX

LOUIS Howe had stayed on at Washington clearing up a question of surplus supplies at the Navy Department for a few months after the new Administration took over. This done with, he was intending to take up a good business appointment. When Roosevelt was struck down he was due in Campobello at any moment to wind up a long personal association with his affairs. Mrs Howe and her little boy were already on the island, and Mrs Roosevelt was "in a panic" both on account of him and of her own children. Dr Lovett reassured her. If they were going to succumb they would probably have succumbed already. As soon as Howe arrived and saw how things were he decided to give up the job he had been offered and devote himself exclusively to Roosevelt's future. He had won his re-election as a State Senator when he had typhoid : he would now set himself to wrest the Presidency from the grip of poliomyelitis. What a fairy-story dream it must have seemed at the time ! But Howe was not just writing a best-seller : he was applying the poetic licence of the best-seller to the conduct of workaday existence. Nor was he listening to any criticism from so-called realists about improbability. The first step he took was to hold up as long as he could all information to the world about Roosevelt's illness : it was to be a bad chill when newspapermen grew inquisitive. Even Mrs James Roosevelt, who was over in Europe, was to be told no more than that about her son's illness. It would never do to have her hurrying back home ; people would guess it was something serious.

Only those who have actually lived on small islands know how difficult it is to avoid publicity about one's movements. Everybody in Eastport on the mainland opposite knew Roosevelt was ill, and the first problem was to get the sick man to the railway station without attracting the sympathetic curiosity of the townsfolk. First of all there was a painful journey from the house to an improvised stretcher down steep rough ground to the shingly beach. Then there was the crossing of the two miles to the harbour, lying in the bottom of a motor-boat. Then there would be the carrying of the stretcher up the long steps of the harbour while everybody gathered on the quay above to watch the business. Howe decided to spare Roosevelt this, and the motor-boat was stopped on the near side of the harbour so that the stretcher might be carried up a steep gangway to a luggage-dray while the crowd



MALLOCK BEACH AND PIER, CAMPOBELLO

waited farther along. In this way Roosevelt was got into a bed in a private railway coach before the townsfolk and the Press knew he had been landed.

"When seen by the correspondent of the *World* Mr Roosevelt was enjoying his cigarette and said he had a good appetite. Although unable to sit up, he says he is feeling more comfortable."

In New York Roosevelt was taken to the Presbyterian Hospital, where Dr George Draper had him in charge for many weeks. It was necessary to make some announcement to the public, and Dr Draper declared, "I cannot say how long Mr Roosevelt will be kept in the hospital, but you can say definitely that he will not be crippled. No one need have any fear of permanent injury from this attack."

It must have sounded a little too optimistic to most people; but Mrs Roosevelt and Howe and, most important of all, the invalid himself were resolved to believe in the doctor. Mrs James Roosevelt was more sceptical. The news of the illness had been broken to her by her brother when she returned from Europe at the end of September, and she made up her mind that Hyde Park was the place for Franklin when

he was able to leave hospital. Here he was to regain his health in tranquillity, and if the idea of an active life in the future had to be abandoned here he should start "the book he had always longed to get on paper."

Mrs James Roosevelt did not at all approve of the plan that her son should go back to his house in East Sixty-fifth Street just before Christmas. And when he did she thought that her daughter-in-law was tiring the patient by allowing friends to visit him, and that Howe had no business to be encouraging him to pretend he was capable of work of any kind.

Eleanor Roosevelt has admitted that this was the most trying winter of her entire life. She and a nurse looked after her husband. His legs were in plaster casts to stretch the muscles, and every day a little bit had to be chipped out at the back, which was torture for him. "He bore it without the slightest complaint, just as he bore his illness from the very beginning."

The house was not very large. Louis Howe had to have a room during the week, and Anna, now fifteen, got into her head that she was being unfairly treated, because it was Louis Howe who had this large room on the third floor, leaving for herself only a little room at the back of the fourth floor. Mrs Roosevelt herself was sleeping in one of the little boys' rooms in her mother-in-law's house next door, to which there was access upstairs, and dressing in her husband's bathroom. Discussions about the invalid's nursing became "somewhat acrimonious on occasions" with her mother-in-law, who felt that she must know better than the doctor what was good for her own son. Eleanor Roosevelt argued that "if you place a patient in a doctor's care you must at least carry out his suggestions and treatment." And various members of the family thought it their duty to criticize the domestic arrangements she had made to plan the complicated daily life of that house in East Sixty-fifth Street.

At last, one afternoon in the spring of 1922, Mrs Roosevelt cracked for a few hours under the drawn-out strain of that winter. She was reading to Franklin Delano, Junior, and John Aspinwall when she suddenly found herself sobbing. She could not think why she was sobbing and could not stop. Elliott came in from school, took a look at his mother, and fled. Louis Howe tried to find out what was the matter, but had to give it up. The two little boys went off to bed, and their mother sat on by herself on the sofa, sobbing and sobbing. She could not go down to dinner, and at last found an empty room in the house of her mother-in-law, who had gone back to Hyde Park. She

locked the door and mopped her face with a towel soaked in cold water ; and then she pulled herself together. "It requires an audience, as a rule, to keep on these emotional jags," Mrs Roosevelt observes of this single occasion in her life in which she can remember having gone to pieces like this.

That frankness of Mrs Roosevelt about herself reveals, more than any amount of building up of the agony about her husband's illness could achieve in the way of suggestion, the anxiety about the future that lay at the back of his mind and hers. Not that Roosevelt himself ever gave way to moaning about his fate. Once only during those long years of recovery did his wife hear him say anything to show a trace of discouragement, and that was a long time after the winter of 1921-22, when "he was debating whether to do something which would cost considerable money, and he remarked that he supposed it was better to spend the money on the chance that he might not be quite such a helpless individual." And once he said tentatively of a proposed journey that it might be easier for him to go by boat than by train.

Van Lear Black had kept open for Roosevelt his place in the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, and while he was in bed Howe was his agent. But Howe was not content with business. He wanted to get Roosevelt back into active politics. Even Mrs Roosevelt doubted the possibility of that. Howe insisted that her husband's interest must be kept alive as much as possible, and he urged Mrs Roosevelt to do some active political work herself. In the spring of 1922 she met a young woman called Marion Dickerman, who was occupied with working conditions for women, and through her she joined the Women's Trade Union League, the members of which were keen on politics. Then through Miss Dickerman she met Miss Nancy Cook, who invited her to preside at a luncheon to raise funds for the women's division of the Democratic State Convention. It was here that she made her first speech to a "sizable gathering." The friendship with Miss Dickerman and Miss Cook led to other contacts, and thus it was that she found herself working with the Democratic women of New York State. More speeches had to be made, and Louis Howe used to sit at the back of the audience and give her his criticism afterwards. She had a habit of laughing nervously when there was nothing to laugh at. This he used to imitate—he was a devoted amateur of theatricals—in order to show her how inane it sounded. "His advice was, 'Have something you want to say, say it, and sit down.'"

But besides the politics, she was training herself to be useful in other ways to her husband just in case. . . .

She learned to drive a car, for instance, and she learned to swim so as to be able to teach her two youngest boys just in case. . . .

Roosevelt himself was getting about on crutches by the summer of 1922, which was spent at Hyde Park. He was struggling all the time to do a number of things which would give him confidence and help to widen his activity ; but every new thing he tried then used to cost him a tremendous physical effort.

That autumn Elliott went to Groton, and when the family returned to New York the nurse was no longer necessary, and Anna was able to have the room she liked. Her mother and she after the difficult adjustments of adolescence were now the best of friends. Mrs Roosevelt had become finance chairwoman of the Women's Democratic State Committee, which, with the League of Women Voters and Women's Trade Union League, gave her the political contacts for which Louis Howe was so anxious. She drove her car on election day and brought people to the polls. She began to learn about party politics in a small place and found them "rather sordid in spots." In the following year she was enjoying her "semi-professional job" with the Democratic State Convention and helped to start a small mimeographed paper, *The Women's Democratic News*, with Louis Howe's advice always at hand. Later on this was printed, and Mrs Roosevelt learned from him how to make a printer's dummy besides a lot about advertising and circulation. Gradually she dropped out of society as she became more and more deeply preoccupied with active work. In the absorption of this one gathers that the need to interrupt it by spending short periods during the winters of 1922-23 and 1923-24 with her husband in the South, where he had been ordered for his health, was a not entirely welcome distraction. The Roosevelts had a houseboat in which they cruised about the Florida waters. She found it "eerie and menacing" when the wind blew. And fishing was too much even for her indomitable will to acquire fresh accomplishments. Fishing for human beings seemed to her more important. By 1924 she was sufficiently far advanced in politics to be in charge of the committee which presented "planks of interest to women" to the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention, which was held that summer in New York. She had travelled a long way in those twelve years since Baltimore.

For Roosevelt himself the time until then had been spent in a struggle as obstinate as the malady he was struggling to master. By the autumn of 1922 he was paying a daily visit to his business office, and by 1923 he was working between that office and the office of his law firm from half-past ten to five o'clock every day. He was still on



LOUIS McHENRY HOWE
Drawing by Leonebel Jacobs

crutches, however, and it was on crutches that he attended the Democratic National Convention during those fierce July dog-days of 1924. But his imagination was not on crutches. If he had been struck down by infantile paralysis, the Democratic Party looked in danger of falling to pieces from senile decay ; and while Roosevelt was battling for his own strength he was planning the strategy he believed was right for the recovery of the Party's health. Here he was undoubtedly helped by his illness, because he could not be suspected of personal motives in the moves he advocated. To all except Louis Howe he was out of politics as a protagonist. On his own dreams we need not trespass. Wordsworth defined poetry as emotion recollected in tranquillity : statesmanship may be experience recollected in tranquillity. Roosevelt was given the opportunity to spend seven years at the prime of his intellectual vigour in reflecting upon his own rich experience and in contemplating the mundane scene with the eyes of a man of the world. His creative imagination was kept continuously hard at work, while at the same time so great a reserve of energy was accumulated and so deep a breath of enthusiasm was inhaled that he was able at the age of forty-seven to re-enter active politics like a man of forty ; and the unkind fate which seemed to have robbed him of those seven years handed them back to him untouched by age.

Roosevelt believed that the future of the Democratic Party rested upon its ability to become identified with progressive and liberal opinion. The reactionary financial policy of the Republicans and their lazy social policy must, in his view, alienate at last the progressives within the Party, and the Democratic Party should make a bid for the whole of progressive opinion throughout the country. That seemed to Roosevelt the right aim. The collapse of the Bull Moose Party had been a proof that, no matter what the vigour of its leadership, no party could maintain itself without the political organization plants built up and maintained over many years by the Republicans and the Democrats.

After its crushing defeat in 1920 the fissures in the composition of the Democratic Party were much more obvious, and unless these could be mended they were likely to widen so much that the party would fall into three pieces—the rural Conservatives of the South, the urban Catholics of the industrial North-east, and the Wilsonian Progressives of the agrarian West. That will seem too facile a simplification of divisions to satisfy an American reader ; but it would take too long to give British readers, 99 per cent. of whom know as little about the United States as they know about the Gobi Desert, anything more intelligibly exact. These fissures might not immediately threaten the Democratic

Party with complete disintegration, but its unity was so merely nominal that the prospect of defeating the Republicans in the Presidential election of 1924 seemed hopeless. Yet at this date the great Republican Party was sprawling across the country like a lethargic burglar who occasionally musters up enough energy to go out and commit a robbery. In fact, one member of the late President Harding's Cabinet was in danger of criminal proceedings, and two others, whom President Coolidge had retained, had been compelled to resign. High finance was pouring money into Europe, although most of Europe was making no effort to repay American loans raised from the American public. Nevertheless, the prismatic bubble of Wall Street prosperity swelling ever larger dazzled public attention and held it entranced. Everything was wonderful. Columbia was tripping along like Pippa in the play. God was in His heaven, and President Coolidge must continue to be President. At Cleveland in June the Republican Convention nominated him by acclamation, and for his running mate General Dawes, whose plan to put Germany on her feet by lending her money to pay reparations won him the Nobel Peace Prize. "It ain't gonna to rain no more," the Muses sang.

Yet when General Dawes arrived in Europe with a golden bough in his mouth as a pledge of peace Mussolini had a few months earlier broken the Italian navy's peaceful record during the war by dispatching it against the defenceless island of Corfu to blow a few Armenian refugees to pieces with its guns; and in Munich that little Austrian house-painter had led an armed but ignominious revolt against the Weimar Republic, of which one photograph extant shows him in a raincoat lying on his stomach at the approach of the forces of law and order. It is worth while quoting the *Annual Register* of 1924 and smiling a little wryly :

The Hitler trial held in March . . . had been turned into one long glorification of the heroes of the "Racialist" or National Socialist Party. . . . The symbol adopted was the Swastika, which, as a supposed 'Aryan' symbol, enjoyed in Germany a curious popularity of doubtful historical justification. It advocated an active and energetic war against all "international powers"—the Entente, Marxism, Jews, the Catholic Church, Capital, and Parliamentary institutions.

Nobody outside Germany took those queer Nazis seriously. In America, and for that matter in Britain, the activities of the Ku Klux Klan seemed more significant. The stronghold of this secret society exhumed from the debris of the Civil War was the South, and it had declared active and energetic war on Catholics, Jews, and Negroes, not



KU KLUX KLAN TRIBUNAL IN 1871-72
Although suppressed in 1871-72, the Ku Klux Klan
played an important part in post-war politics

to mention local Don Juans and small-town merry widows. It was a disquieting manifestation of social unhealthiness. In South Carolina the legislature passed a law granting pensions to those Negroes who had been 'loyal slaves' during the Civil War, and other State legislatures in the South were rallying to the support of Genesis against Darwinism. No wonder thoughtful Democrats were asking themselves gloomily what would be the future of their great Party if such questions were going to preoccupy those States where Democracy was strongest.

On February 3 Woodrow Wilson died, and the Americans might have had an inkling of German realities when the German Embassy did not lower its flag to half-mast because the Ambassador was afraid of offending nationalist opinion at home. On the day of the funeral a crowd of ex-soldiers nailed the Stars and Stripes to the door of the

Embassy, and sang *The Star-spangled Banner* outside. The German flag came down to half-mast, and the Ambassador resigned in a state of nervous alarm.

In that same month of February W. G. McAdoo, a son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson and the Secretary of the Treasury in his Cabinet, became the most favoured Democratic candidate for the Presidential election. McAdoo, who was a native of Georgia, had been living in California since 1920; but he had many rich and influential friends in New York, where he had formerly been in business, and might hope for some support in the East. The Ku Klux Klan was for him, and he would carry the votes of the Western Progressives. It was the South and West which had given Wilson his second term in 1916.

Logic suggested that Roosevelt, as a Wilsonian Progressive who had fought and lost the Vice-Presidential campaign of 1920 on a platform of uncompromising Wilsonism, would support McAdoo. The only other candidate who seemed to stand a chance of obtaining the nomination was Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York. Smith had been an outstanding success as Governor when he was elected in 1918, and though he was defeated in 1920 in the general collapse of the Democracy, he had made a great come-back in 1922. After knocking out William Randolph Hearst in the nomination he had refused to run on the same ticket with the newspaper magnate when he aspired to a United States Senatorship for New York, had knocked him out of that too, and finally had wrested the Governorship from Nathan L. Miller by the record majority of 382,000 votes. Moreover, he had justified the confidence of his supporters by statesmanlike and progressive administration. It was to the nomination of Governor Smith for the Presidency that both Roosevelt and Mrs Roosevelt expressed themselves favourable as early as February, and that spring at the Democratic State Convention Mrs Roosevelt seconded the resolution pledging the support of the New York delegation for him at the National Convention. It was then that she was made chairwoman of the Committee of Democratic Women to present planks on legislation affecting women. One must set aside the motives of personal friendship and the inclination to support a favourite son¹ of one's own state to probe more deeply for the explanation of Roosevelt's support of Smith in 1924. It was clearly a deliberate and far-sighted move in his strategic plan to reunite and so revivify the Democratic Party. As an up-state rural Democrat and a Protestant his support of Smith as an urban Catholic was the answer to reactionary

¹ Favourite sons are often put into nomination without expectation of winning it as a mark of esteem and regard for a politician with honour in his home state

tendencies in the South, and as a progressive Democrat his support of Smith as a progressive Governor was an assurance to liberal tendencies in the West and, paradoxically, at the same time a reassurance to Democratic conservatives in the East who did not think Smith would try to upset business unreasonably.

Presently Roosevelt's support of Smith was to extend beyond the mere verbal expression of it. Charles F. Murphy died, and the friends of Al Smith invited Roosevelt to be Chairman of his campaign committee. Howe's determination that Roosevelt should return to active politics was rewarded. Roosevelt accepted, and by doing so made the South and the West realize that McAdoo would have a fight for the nomination.

An echo of the impression the news made is heard in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, a Republican paper, which approved Governor Smith's "desire to lift his campaign above the rough and tumble Tammany style," and declared that "what the campaign had lost in practical political ability through the death of Murphy it had now compensated for in prestige and principles."

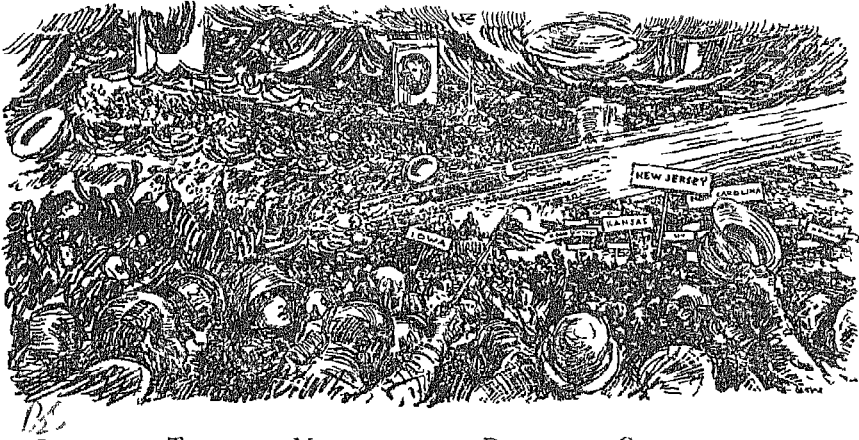
Thirteen years ago in Albany Al Smith had been Murphy's best-liked emissary in trying to persuade young State Senator Roosevelt to call off the fight against 'Blue-eyed' Billy Sheehan's nomination as United States Senator. No wonder Roosevelt found politics as fascinating as piquet in the exquisitely varied potentialities of every hand, and in that judgment of every discard, which is always called luck.

Much to the surprise of Smith's friends, who had only intended to use Roosevelt as a stuffed shirt in their window display, he insisted on taking an active part in the campaign as manager. The curious legend that Roosevelt was a stuffed shirt persisted even up to 1932. His good looks were responsible, of course: the effect of infantile paralysis was not enough to cancel them out. Perhaps a lot of people in Rome were calling Julius Cæsar a stuffed toga or a stuffed breastplate before he crossed the Rubicon.

Roosevelt took over the management of the campaign on May 1. "Louis was very excited and very carefully planned each step of the way," Mrs Roosevelt remembers.

Finally, Smith asked Roosevelt to make the nomination speech at Madison Square Garden. This was an unusual job for the campaign manager, but it seemed there was nobody else fit to do it except this stuffed shirt on crutches.

National Conventions are always held in midsummer, and the weather is nearly always maddeningly hot. The heat drove Mrs Roosevelt away



ONE OF THE TURBULENT MOMENTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1924
Drawing from *New York Times*, June 29, 1924

from Baltimore in 1912, but she stuck it out in New York twelve years later.

"Few people will forget the heat of New York and the way that convention dragged itself out. I had opened our New York house . . . and had taken in a number of women from up-State New York. I had not expected to have them for quite such a long time."

Roosevelt's appearance on crutches to make one of the best nomination speeches ever heard created an impression never forgotten by those who were present. Sixteen-year-old James, acting as a page, was near his father all through that endless convention, as day after day the balloting for Smith and McAdoo was inconclusive.

Mrs Roosevelt discovered that women were of little importance at a National Convention. "They stood outside the door of all important meetings and waited. I did get my resolutions in, but how much consideration they got was veiled in mystery behind closed doors."

Dog-day after dog-day the balloting went on in the stifling heat as tempers broke and nerves were exacerbated.

While the results of the futile ballots were droned from the platform in the Garden yesterday, there sat in the exact centre of the great hall the one man whose name would stampede the convention were he to put in nomination. He is the only man to whom the contending factions could turn and at the same time save their faces

and keep square with the folks at home. And that man does not want the nomination. . . .

Thus wrote "Looker-on" in the *Herald-Tribune*.

"I sat and knitted, suffered with the heat, and wished that it would end," Mrs Roosevelt records.

Will Rogers wandered by the box one day and asked if she was knitting in the names of the future victims of the guillotine. The *tricotouse* felt like telling the cowboy comedian that she was "almost ready to call any punishment down on the heads of those who could not bring the convention to a close."

For a hundred and three ballots the bedlamite contest went on amid an excitement beyond that of the biggest prize fight ever staged in the Garden. In the description of Roosevelt moving around on crutches, always cheerful, always patient, always ready with a wisecrack or a laugh, one is absurdly reminded of Long John Silver managing the mutineers on Treasure Island. But Roosevelt could not achieve the nomination for the man of whom he had quoted to wind up his speech :

This is the Happy Warrior, this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be.

At last a compromise was agreed upon. The names of McAdoo and Smith were withdrawn, and the nomination went to John W. Davis, who had been Wilson's Solicitor General and afterwards Ambassador in Great Britain.

The Democratic Party already knew that Calvin Coolidge would not have to leave the White House until 1929. The delegations left New York more disunited than ever. Roosevelt's attempt to unite the Democracy may not have been successful so far ; but his personal reputation was enhanced.

The *Evening World* wrote :

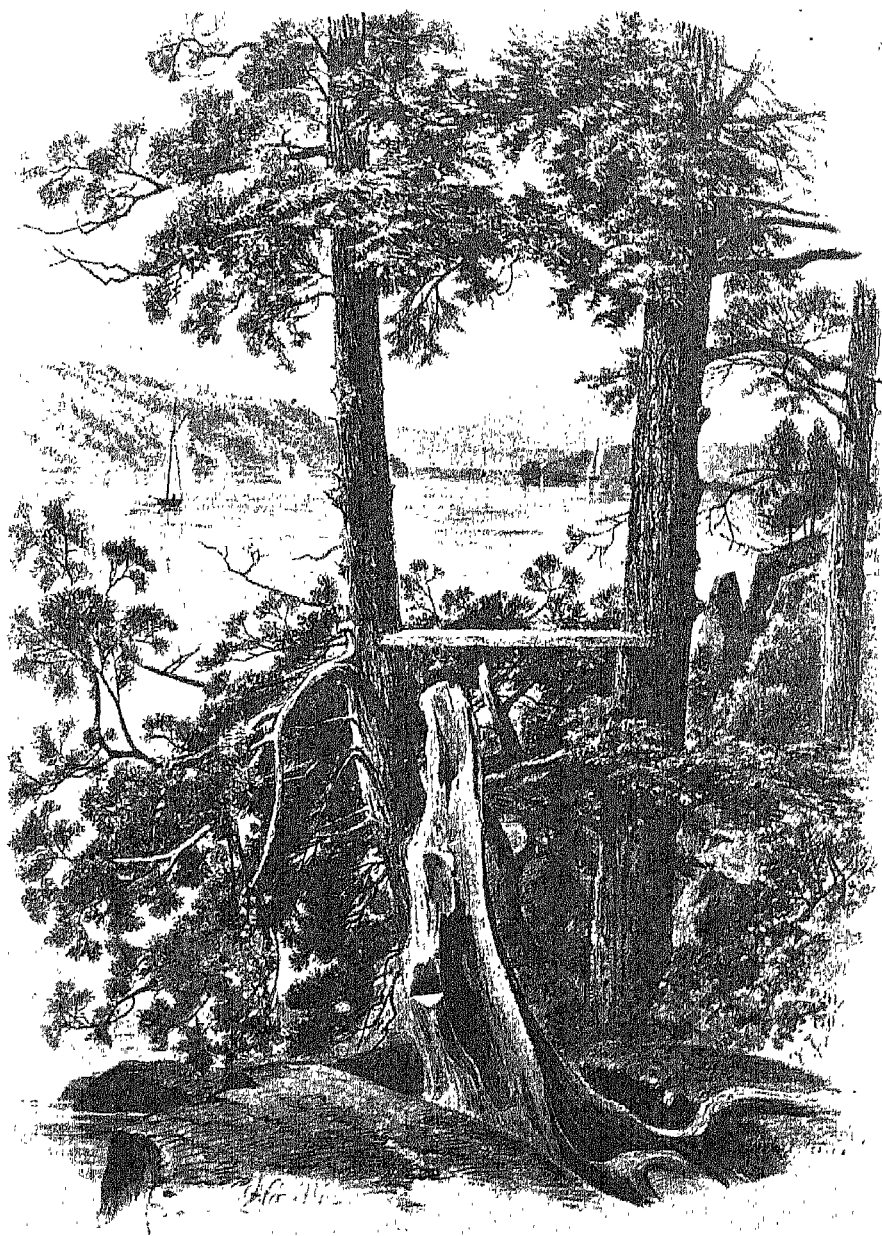
Franklin D. Roosevelt stands out as the real hero of the Democratic Convention of 1924.

Adversity has lifted him above the bickering, the religious bigotry, conflicting personal ambitions, and petty sectional prejudices. It has made him the one leader commanding the respect and admiration of delegations from all sections of the land. . . . Roosevelt might be a pathetic, tragic figure but for the fine courage that flashes in his smile. It holds observers unchained.

Roosevelt was asked to stand for the Governorship of New York. He refused. He would not stand for public office until he could stand without crutches. Mrs Roosevelt, however, was taking politics so



THOMAS WOODROW WILSON (1856-1924)
Oil painting by S. Seymour Thomas
White House, Cabinet Room



THE HUDSON AT HYDE PARK
Coloured engraving after G. Smillie (1840-1921)
One of the President's favourite pictures

seriously by now that by early autumn she was hard at work in the State campaign. She evidently had no intention of allowing women to remain of very little importance at national conventions.

And now chance, if destiny or providence be denied, made good what was still lacking in Roosevelt's representative quality as the future leader of the Democratic Party. Earlier in 1924 Dr Lovett let him know that he had been having a good deal of success with poliomyelitis patients from exercises and swimming in warm water. That summer G. F. Peabody, the New York banker and philanthropist, told him that he had bought an old health resort at Warm Springs, in Western Georgia, the pool of which had been beneficial in cases of infantile paralysis. Loyless, the ex-editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, which had been knocked out by the Ku Klux Klan, had drawn Peabody's attention to the place with news of a young man from Columbus, Georgia, who after three years' treatment at Warm Springs, starting as a helpless casualty of infantile paralysis, had learned to walk with the help of a couple of sticks. Roosevelt, who was always indefatigable over exploring the possibilities of a cure, decided in that autumn of 1924 to try Warm Springs. He found a tumbledown three-storey wooden hotel, a few cottages, and a pool with a temperature of 89 degrees in a setting of green hills and pine woods. Here he stayed six weeks, and in those six weeks he made more progress than he had made in three years. The place was not arranged for winter visitors, and he returned to New York, where he had now gone into partnership with Basil O'Connor in a law office housed in the Equitable Building, which housed his other office also.

In April 1925 Roosevelt returned to Warm Springs to continue his cure, and found that ten people from different parts of the country had arrived at Warm Springs to cure the effects of infantile paralysis. In the previous autumn the reporter of an Atlanta paper who had gone to get an interview with Roosevelt about the Presidential campaign had found him swimming, and had written an article entitled "Swimming Back to Health" which had been syndicated in a number of papers. Roosevelt was taken aback by this 'discovery' of Warm Springs, for the resort was not equipped to cope with such a rush even in summer. However, he showed the local doctor the exercises prescribed for poliomyelitis patients out of water, and these were applied to underwater exercises which he and the doctor superintended. The improvement in every case was so marked that Roosevelt made up his mind he would have the curative possibilities of Warm Springs thoroughly gone into by competent authorities.

Irony ruled that in this very spring President Coolidge, breaking grudgingly into speech, should declare that the Federal Government was tending to usurp powers and functions which ought to be left to the individual States. This from a rock-ribbed Republican of the Bay State was doctrine as heretical as Home Rule in Ireland would have been on the lips of a Carlton Club diehard. So Jeffersonian and Democratic was it that perhaps it lay heavy on Coolidge's Yankee conscience, for on the Fourth of July in 1926 he took advantage of a speech celebrating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which was also the centenary of Jefferson's death, to deny that Thomas Jefferson was the inspiration of the Declaration, which he attributed to "the Colonial preachers of New England."

The explanation of Coolidge's fall from apostolic orthodoxy was that Big Business and High Finance, which had once upon a time leaned hard upon Alexander Hamilton's Federalism, now required a freedom to operate that the growth of Progressive Democracy seemed to threaten. At the moment the Democratic Party appeared to be at a low ebb; but danger was threatened from within the Republican Party itself. Theodore Roosevelt's two terms and the Bull Moose election were not forgotten. Even in 1924, although Senator La Follette had carried only his own state of Wisconsin in the electoral college, he had polled a popular vote of over four and a half millions, and La Follette's Republicans stood for the policy of cleaning up the house, which did not suit Big Business and High Finance. "Divide and rule" became the motto of Wall Street. States' rights must now be guarded.

And down there in that faded summer resort deep in the heart of the South a fervid admirer of Thomas Jefferson, struggling to win freedom from crutches, was beginning to apprehend that the Jefferson who did not fear to make the Louisiana Purchase¹ would have accepted the ultimate responsibility in which that abrupt and at the date unimaginable extension of his country's size would involve him with posterity.

Not that Roosevelt was yet aware of the extent of the economic revolution that would be involved. In January 1938 on the edge of his fifty-sixth birthday he would write:

Let me say with complete frankness that during the 'twenties I, in common with most liberals, did not at the start visualize the effects of the period, or the drastic changes which were necessary for a lasting economy. We knew that many changes in monopolistic practices and in the concentration of the control of wealth in the hands

¹ By which, in 1803, the United States acquired from Napoleon, for roughly five million pounds, one million square miles of territory.

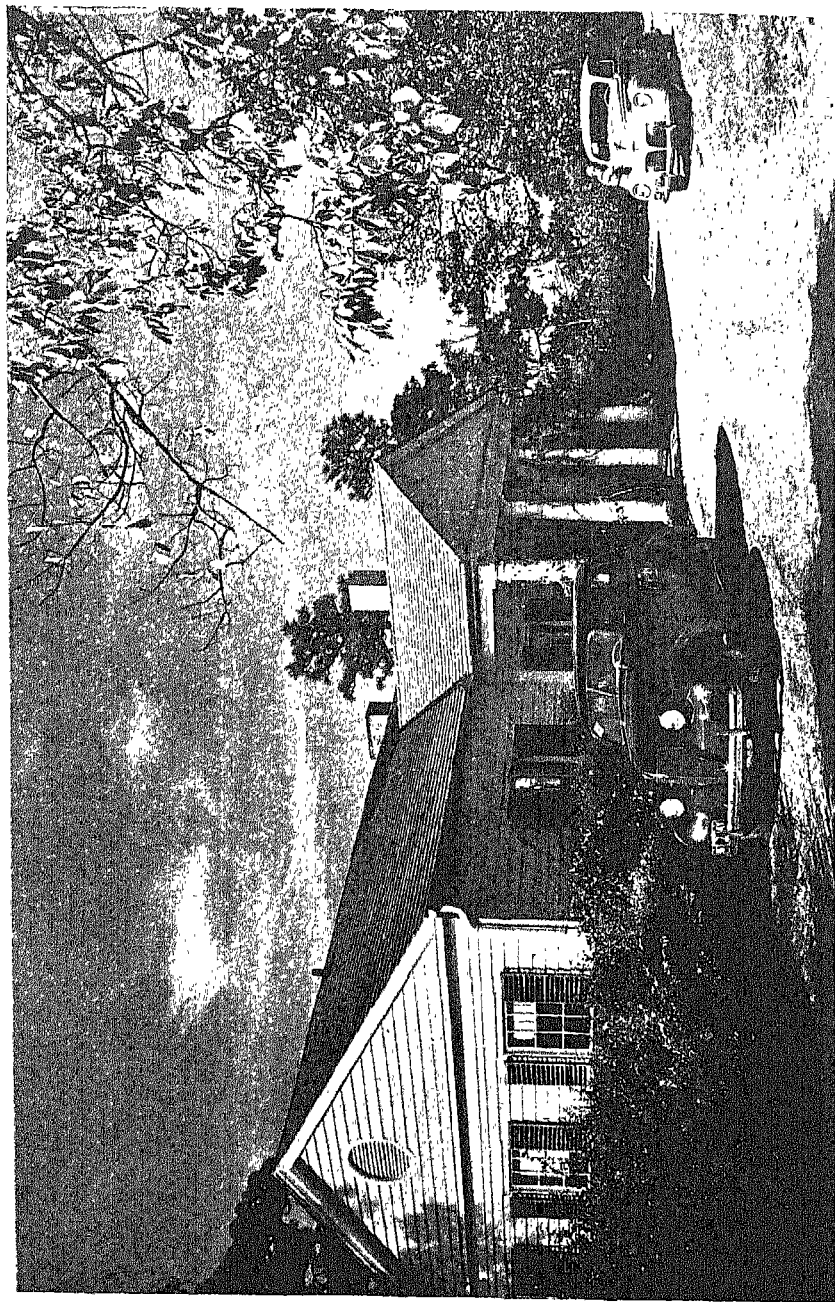
of a few—changes fought for by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson—were long overdue. But we did not understand the real depth of the problem.

Almost all economists were then preaching the theory that the greater the production of goods, the greater the wealth and well-being of the nation. That delightfully simple theory ignored the fact that in 1928 when production was increasing unemployment was also increasing.

And he would also write, "That decade can be said to represent a dormant period for democratic processes—a period, nevertheless, which was probably necessary for the revitalizing of any great movement to restore and maintain democracy." It is hardly fanciful to identify his own experience during that decade with such words.

In the spring of 1926 Roosevelt put the curative possibilities of Warm Springs before the Orthopedic Association, which was holding its convention in Atlanta that year, and an investigation by a qualified committee was undertaken. The verdict was favourable. So Roosevelt bought from Peabody the Springs, the tumbledown hotel, the cottages, and about twelve hundred acres of land round, and in January 1927 he incorporated the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation as a non-profit-making institution, sinking in the project two-thirds of his personal fortune. "Warm Springs virtually became Franklin's second home," his mother wrote. He built himself a cottage in the Dutch style, which was called the Little White House, "not because of any future aspirations," his mother insisted, "but because it happened to be an accurate description." And she adds, "Just as land fascinates him, so do the houses which grow out of the land. He is always planning to buy this stretch of land or the other and is always planning to build new houses or 'fix over' old ones."

So it is not surprising that he went in for farming, from pigs to peaches and from cattle to cotton. It may have been costly, but he did learn by experience the difference between farming in Georgia and farming by the Hudson river, a great advantage to him in the future. In all his ancestry there was no Southern blood ; but the water of Warm Springs was as thick, and Roosevelt became so much a favourite son of Georgia that there was even talk of asking him to run for the Governorship, an astonishing tribute to a Northerner. Politically during these years from 1924 to 1928 Roosevelt was always working hard to convert the Southern Democracy to the support of Governor Smith, and though he was completely unsuccessful in overcoming the strong anti-Catholic prejudice of the South, he did not create any prejudice against himself by



THE LITTLE WHITE HOUSE, WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA

his advocacy of Smith's claims to the Presidency. On the contrary, the identification of many of his material interests as well as of his health with Warm Springs rounded him off as the ideal representative of National Democracy. Warm Springs did more than enable him to throw away his crutches and walk with a stick, more than teach him the hazards of farming in the South, more than enable him to drive a car again, more than supply him with the perpetual refreshment of human devotion, sympathy, and gratitude, expressed sometimes, as his mother recalls, by simple little gifts of honey or wild strawberries "left mysteriously upon his doorstep"; Warm Springs taught him the lesson which he would one day voice in these words:

"Our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, realize our personal responsibility to and dependence on the rest of the world. For it is literally true that the 'self-supporting' man or woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others every one of us would die, naked and starved."

But we must not think of Roosevelt during those years in the 'twenties just sitting philosophically and dreaming Jeffersonian dreams in his white cottage on the slope of Pine Mountain that looked west away into Alabama. Apart from his steady work at reconciliation within the Democratic Party he was the senior partner of the law firm of Roosevelt and O'Connor. He was Vice-President in charge of the New York offices of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland and of the American Bonding Company. He was President of the American Construction Council occupied with the building industry. He was Chairman of the Boy Scouts of Greater New York, for whom he had raised money to acquire a ten-thousand-acre camping-ground in Sullivan County. He was National Chairman of the fund to find ten million dollars to finish the Cathedral of St John the Divine, in New York. He was Chairman of the New York branch of the American Legion Endowment Fund. He was President of the Taconic State Park Commission. He was a trustee of Vassar College. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. And above all he was building up Warm Springs into a permanent institution for the care of people crippled by infantile paralysis.

On the other side of the Atlantic in those years when Roosevelt was getting the better of his affliction at Warm Springs Winston Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer, very much in the hands of orthodox finance. Britain went back to the gold standard with disastrous results for employment. There were the great coal strike and the general

strike, both of which Churchill might perhaps have managed to avert if he had been more his own master. The question of rebuilding Germany as a breakwater against Communism was becoming increasingly a preoccupation of high finance, and in those years when Winston Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer financiers were moving steadily toward the decision to put Hitler in power which would ultimately help to bring about the Second World War.

In spite of the dazzling apparent prosperity of the United States, Roosevelt was seeing more and more clearly, as he would say three or four years hence, that :

“where Jefferson had feared the encroachment of political power on the lives of individuals, Wilson knew that the new power was financial. He saw in the highly centralized economic system the despot of the twentieth century, on whom great masses of individuals relied for their safety and their livelihood, and whose irresponsibility and greed (if they were not controlled) would reduce them to starvation and penury.”

On June 15, 1928, the Republican National Convention was held at Kansas City and Herbert Hoover was nominated for the Presidency. On June 22 the Democratic National Convention met at Houston to select a candidate. Roosevelt went to Texas to make the nominating speech for Al Smith. At Madison Square Garden he had made his speech on crutches. At Houston he walked up the Convention Hall with a stick in one hand and his arm in that of his second boy, Elliott. He was given a tremendous ovation. After attending the notification ceremony in August he went back to Warm Springs, where he intended to spend several months on end, because the doctors believed that if he would do this, with the progress he had already made, he stood a good chance of being able to walk even without a stick. A winter residence at Warm Springs would have been impossible until recently; but the place was already far developed, and this very year a glass-enclosed exercise pool had been constructed, thanks to the generosity of Mr and Mrs Edsel Ford, which meant that no matter what the weather the water exercises would not be interrupted.

Roosevelt made one or two speeches in Georgia that September in support of Al Smith's candidacy. Three days after he had spoken in Atlanta on September 26 a long-distance call came through to Warm Springs from Milwaukee. It was Al Smith on his way back to the State Convention in Rochester from his campaign through the West. He asked Roosevelt if he would reconsider his refusal in the summer to

run for the Governorship of New York. The State leaders believed it was vital for his own chance of carrying New York that he should. Roosevelt said he was sorry, but it was impossible. He wanted to give the cure a real chance.

Smith reached the Seneca Hotel, Rochester, on October 1 and found this telegram waiting for him :

Confirming my telephone message, I wish much that I might even consider the possibility of running for Governor this year, especially if by so doing I could further help you, but there are two considerations which are compelling.

First, your own record in New York State is so clear to the voters that you will carry the State regardless of who is nominated for Governor, and my nomination would make no difference to your success on the New York ticket.

Secondly, my doctors are very definite in stating that the continued improvement in my condition is dependent on my avoidance of cold climate and on taking exercises here at Warm Springs during the cold winter months. It probably means getting rid of leg braces during the next two winters and that would be impossible if I had to remain in Albany. As I am only forty-six years of age, I feel that I owe it to my family and myself to give the present constant improvement a chance to continue. I must therefore with great regret confirm my decision not to accept the nomination, and I know you will understand.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mrs Roosevelt was appealed to, but she declined to intervene. It was her husband's decision, and only he could make it. Yet one feels that Mrs Roosevelt was finding it hard not to urge her husband to enter the fray, as we catch a glimpse of her at Rochester that October, pre-occupied with her leadership of the women's committee in the campaign for Smith's election.

And down at Warm Springs Roosevelt had just walked a few steps without even a stick's support—the first steps he had taken without support for seven years.

The State leaders sat in council again, and other names were put forward for the Governorship ; but none satisfied them. Roosevelt, they felt, was the name New York wanted.

Smith decided to have another try on Tuesday, October 2. Roosevelt, who did not think he had heard the last of pressure from Rochester, planned to be out all day at a picnic. In the evening he was to speak at a meeting in Manchester, the nearest town to Warm Springs. While he was in the pool doing his exercises a boy came along from the hotel

to say Governor Smith was on the telephone from Rochester. Roosevelt told the boy to say he was away somewhere on a picnic, would be away all day, and was spending the evening at some place unknown to him.

Roosevelt returned from the picnic to find telegrams and telephone calls had been coming all day. Anna, his daughter, now Mrs Curtis B. Dall and twenty-two years old, wired, "Go ahead and take it." Her father wired back, "You ought to be spanked." Up in Rochester, Mrs Roosevelt, worried by the thought of her husband's regrets if his refusal should be followed by a narrow defeat of Smith, or if the Presidency should be won and New York itself lost after those eight fruitful years of great Democratic administration, agreed to give Governor Smith a chance to communicate with Roosevelt. He was in the grip of politics at last. Colonel Herbert Lehman, who was to be nominated as Lieutenant Governor, had been ringing up all over Georgia throughout the afternoon and evening in a vain endeavour to find Roosevelt. The devoted Tom Lynch, of Poughkeepsie, urged that Mrs Roosevelt should impress on her husband what his refusal would mean to the Party. Politics . . . politics . . .

Roosevelt was sitting on the platform of the hall in the Manchester school building that night while a local speaker was holding forth, prior to his own speech on behalf of Governor Smith's Presidential claims. Word came that Governor Smith himself was on the telephone at the drug-store round the corner. The hall was packed. Roosevelt could not get out. Half an hour later the messenger pushed his way up the packed aisles again to say that Governor Smith was still on the telephone. This time Roosevelt himself was speaking in praise of the man who wanted him at the drug-store. The Chairman whispered that the line from New York would be held till he came. Roosevelt set his jaw and spoke for another half-hour before he made his way down three flights of stairs to reach that drug-store. It was Mrs Roosevelt at the other end. She had no time to give him more than a word of greeting. She was late for her train to New York, where to-morrow she was due at the Todhunter School for Girls to give her weekly history lesson. John Raskob, the 'wet' Catholic multi-millionaire, whom Smith had made Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, came to the telephone. The line faded out. The operator said the call would be put through to the Warm Springs hotel. Roosevelt thought that this would settle it. The line to Warm Springs was usually pretty bad. But when he picked up the receiver Raskob's voice from Rochester was in the next room. Roosevelt still demurred. There were other



GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH
Drawing by S. W. Woolf

objections besides his health. There was the Warm Springs Foundation, which had to be put on its feet as well as himself. Raskob insisted that he and his friends would take care of the Foundation, and then Al Smith came to the telephone. He drew a picture of a New York Governor's lotus-eating existence. It would not interrupt the cure.

"Don't hand me that holoney," said Roosevelt.

Lehman now took over and promised that if he was elected Lieutenant Governor he would act for Roosevelt whenever he was called on. Al Smith came back and made the business a favour to himself. Roosevelt argued that the outlook for his success was not as gloomy as to need that. Finally, Smith asked Roosevelt if he was nominated next day whether he would decline to run.

Roosevelt hesitated. Smith rang off.

On the following day Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation, and his wife read about it in the papers.

Mrs James Roosevelt says :

The little white house . . . might have been the scene of a funeral. Misery hung over it like a pall. Telegrams of congratulation poured in, but the cottage was desolate.

Finally, I am told, Franklin's cheery voice was heard to remark, "Well, if I've got to run for Governor there's no use in all of us getting sick about it!"

The New York Republican papers shed crocodiles' tears. The *Herald-Tribune* declared that the nomination was equally unfair to Mr Roosevelt and the people of the state, who, under other conditions, would welcome his candidacy for any office. The *Evening Post* declared the drafting of Roosevelt to be "pathetic and pitiless" and attacked Smith for making "this most loyal of friends agree to serve his ambition at a price that is beyond all reason."

To his Press conference on the train to Albany after the Convention was over Smith said, "A Governor does not have to be an acrobat. We do not elect him for his ability to do a double-back flip or a hand-spring. The work of the Governorship is brain-work. Ninety-nine per cent. of it is accomplished sitting at a desk."

On October 5 Roosevelt made a statement :

I am amazed to hear that efforts are being made to make it appear that I have been 'sacrificed' by Governor Smith to further his own election, and that my friends should vote against me to prevent such 'sacrifice.'

Let me set this matter straight at once. I was not dragooned into running by the Governor. On the contrary, he fully appreciated

the reasons for my reluctance and was willing to give up such advantage as he felt my candidacy might bring him in deference to my wishes. I was drafted because all of the Party leaders when they assembled insisted that my often expressed belief in the policies of Governor Smith made my nomination the best assurance to the voters that these policies would be continued.

It was because they felt and I feel that the whole splendid structure of State Government built up by Governor Smith and all the high ideals of service to the people which he had established were in peril that caused me to accept the nomination. New York must not lose its proud position as the State which leads in efficiency and democracy. That is something too important to let any personal considerations weigh in the slightest. I am in this fight not to win personal honour, but for the carrying forward of the policies of Governor Smith.

I do not believe that appeals to personal friendship should form any part of a plea to the electorate. But if I did, my own appeal would be: "Not only do I want my friends to vote for me, but if they are my real friends I ask them to get as many other people to vote for me as possible."

I trust this statement will eliminate this particular bit of nonsense from the campaign from the very beginning.

That night he spoke for Al Smith at Columbus, Georgia. The next night he spoke at Cleveland, Ohio. On October 12 he spoke at Boston, Massachusetts. On October 15 he spoke in New York City. On October 16 he formally accepted the nomination, and on October 17 he made at Binghamton, New York, what was intended to be the first slashing speech of his gubernatorial campaign. Actually it was the seventh, because he had already made six other speeches that day before he reached Binghamton. The invalid would overdo it, kind and sympathetic enemies murmured. But, with the progress of the campaign, the invalid perversely seemed to grow more and more vigorous. He made his policy crystal clear and mocked his Republican opponents for broken promises in the past and evasive promises for the future. First and foremost he never spared all the praise he could give to the administration of Governor Smith through four terms and to the advocacy of his election as President. He was eloquently scathing about the attempt to bring religious prejudice into the issue, whether he was raising a laugh by telling a tale of printed handbills in the South saying that if Governor Smith were elected President all Methodist and Baptist marriages would be void and the children illegitimate, or saying :

“very simply and solemnly that if there is any man or woman whose mind can go back ten years, if there is any man or woman who has seen the sights that I have seen, who knows what this country went through ; any man or woman who knows what Germany, Poland, France, Austria, England, went through—even more than we did—in those years ; if any man or woman, after thinking of that, can bear in his heart any motive in this year which will lead him to cast his ballot in the interest of intolerance and of a violation of the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, then I say solemnly to that man or woman, ‘May God have mercy on your miserable soul.’”

In the speech Roosevelt made at Yonkers on November 1, 1929, he declared the creed by which posterity will judge his fitness to have led the world in the crisis of humanity through which it is now passing :

“In the final analysis the great issue in both the national and State campaigns revolves around that fundamental belief of my friend Mr Hoover in the incapacity of the mass of average citizens either to think or to build. In the national election the great Governor of the State of New York is the most splendid living example of the opposite fact.

“And in this State election too the same point is raised, for the Republican leadership of the State is based on that same belief that Mr Hoover holds. I deny, and the Democratic Party denies, that the average man and woman in this State, who make up its electorate, are incapable of thought or of constructive ability. I know that the electorate does think, that it does originate, and that it does build, and it is on that fundamental belief that I base my campaign for the Governorship.”

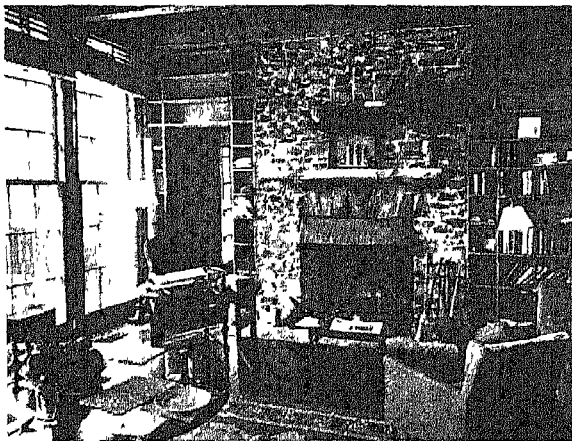
This was Roosevelt’s answer to Herbert Hoover’s contention in his book *American Individualism* :

Acts and deeds leading to progress are born of the individual mind, not out of the mind of the crowd. The crowd only feels, it has no mind of its own which can plan. The crowd is credulous, it destroys, it hates and it dreams, but it never builds. It is one of the most profound of psychological truths that man in the mass does not think, but only feels.

Hoover’s belief carried to its logical conclusion must recognize the utility of a Hitler to progress : Roosevelt’s belief forbids such recognition. The battle between the two creeds, which has been going on since man decided to become a social animal and rejected the condition that, in the words of Hobbes, made his life “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short,” has at this time reached one of its moments of crucial intensity. Roosevelt stands for one side as pre-eminently as

Pericles stood for the Athenian conception of life against the Spartan. The United States to-day is an immense development of Athens, and it represents the utmost advance at this moment of human evolution of which democracy is capable. If the United States fail Hitler's boast of setting the world's course for a thousand years will be justified.

So far as Roosevelt was concerned personally, his confidence in the electorate's ability to think was not impaired in 1928. He carried the State of New York by a majority of 25,564 over his Republican opponent Albert Ottinger, the popular Jewish State Attorney-General. On the other hand, Alfred Emanuel Smith lost New York by 103,481 votes and the United States by 6,423,612. The Republicans carried forty out of the forty-eight States. For the first time since the Civil War five of the Southern States voted Republican. Herbert Hoover could derive the satisfaction of knowing that he had been elected President because the crowd had felt it was unwise to elect a 'wet' Catholic. Demos would pay presently a heavy price for letting his feelings get the better of his judgment. For him on November 6, 1928, financial poliomyelitis was not quite twelve months away.



IN THE LITTLE WHITE HOUSE

CHAPTER X

O far the progress of Franklin D. Roosevelt has been as simply dramatic as an old-fashioned play of the 'virtue rewarded' type.

It does not demand a sophisticated appreciation of human motive to understand why he did this or that when he was at Groton or at Harvard or in the New York Senate or Assistant Secretary of the Navy or the victim of infantile paralysis, and so far as material for that progress is available the subtlest psychologist is left without a problem to puzzle his ingenuity. There is nothing that cannot be explained by personal charm, by determination streaked with obstinacy, by immense vitality with the protracted youth that usually accompanies it, by his delight in laughter and impatience of introspection, by a warmth of compassion, and above all by that abounding self-confidence which had been able to survive even so shattering a reminder of human weakness as prostration by poliomyelitis in his fortieth year. It is so difficult to understand why Adolf Hitler should apparently be capable of inspiring personal devotion that, almost involuntarily, we attribute the basest motives to his intimate entourage. On the other hand, it is so easy to grasp why Roosevelt is able to inspire personal devotion that it comes as a shock to discover he is equally capable of inspiring hatred.

It is not enough to find an explanation in Roosevelt's effort to curb the power of wealth and dilute the influence of privilege. When he gave his Inaugural Address at Albany on January 1, 1929, he had already created enemies who were muttering that his method of winning the Governorship was a piece of deliberate cunning devised to exalt himself at the expense of his predecessor. When one recalls that Roosevelt had refused to run for the Governorship as far back as 1918, and that he had again refused in 1924, his achievement of the nomination in 1928 looks less like a hard-won achievement. Apart from what to anybody whose mental muscles were not strained by political high-jumping must have seemed the natural desire of a man to recover the use of his own legs before he tried to climb to power on the back of a friend, it is questionable whether that November of 1928 appeared to Roosevelt the right moment from his own point of view to abandon the position of disinterested adviser which he held in the councils of the Democratic Party. He could not have supposed that Smith really did stand a chance of being elected President: that was beyond even his sanguine

inclination. He may well have supposed that his own election as Governor was unlikely, and if he was hoping to run for the Presidency one day there was no point in handicapping himself with a premature defeat for the Governorship. Louis Howe had been against Roosevelt's running for the Governorship in 1928, because he was convinced that Hoover would carry New York, and that Roosevelt would go down in a Democratic debacle. He was determined that Roosevelt should be President, but the date he had fixed for the fulfilment of his plan was 1936, not 1932.

It is often assumed that Al Smith bore his drafted nominee a grudge for doing better than himself in New York that November, but there is no need to believe that this was an immediate reaction. It seems likelier that the jealousy developed gradually after plenty of smaller jealous men had fed it with the poison of disappointment. Or leave jealousy out of it, and say that in the mind of the older man there grew a realization that the political beliefs of the younger man challenged his own conception of what was right and expedient. Converts are apt to be bigots, and Al Smith had been converted from poverty to wealth, from the obscurity of the Lower East Side to the magnificence of the Empire State Building. To such a convert the revolutionary gentleman in comfortable circumstances is intelligible only as one who is willing to sacrifice everybody and everything to his own ambition. On that first of January in the Capitol of Albany we can and should believe the outgoing Governor meant what he said when he interrupted the formality of the inaugural ceremony to wish his younger successor well. "Frank, I congratulate you. I hope you will be able to devote that intelligent mind of yours to the problems of this State."

Nor because Governor Roosevelt, while taking advantage of the work done by Governor Smith in making the Empire State the most progressive Executive in the Union, chose to follow his own line, need we suppose that he did not mean what he said when he declared :

"I am certain that no Governor in the long history of the State has accomplished more than he in definite improvement of the structure of our State Government, in the wise, efficient, and honourable administration of its affairs, and finally in the possession of that vibrant understanding heart attuned to the needs and hopes of the men, the women, and the children who form the sovereignty known as 'the People of the State of New York.'

"To Alfred E. Smith, a public servant of true greatness, I extend on behalf of our citizens our affectionate greetings, our wishes for his good health, and our prayer that God will watch over him and his in the years to come. . . ."

"Under the leadership of the great Governor whose place you have selected me to fill has come a willingness on our part to give as well as to receive, to aid, through the agency of the State, the well-being of the men and women who, by their toil, have made our material prosperity possible."

Mark well, Roosevelt does not indulge in the slightest hypocritical self-depreciation. Smith was a great Governor. The People of the State of New York have elected him to fill his place. He, if the People of the State of New York will do their share, is prepared to be as great a Governor.

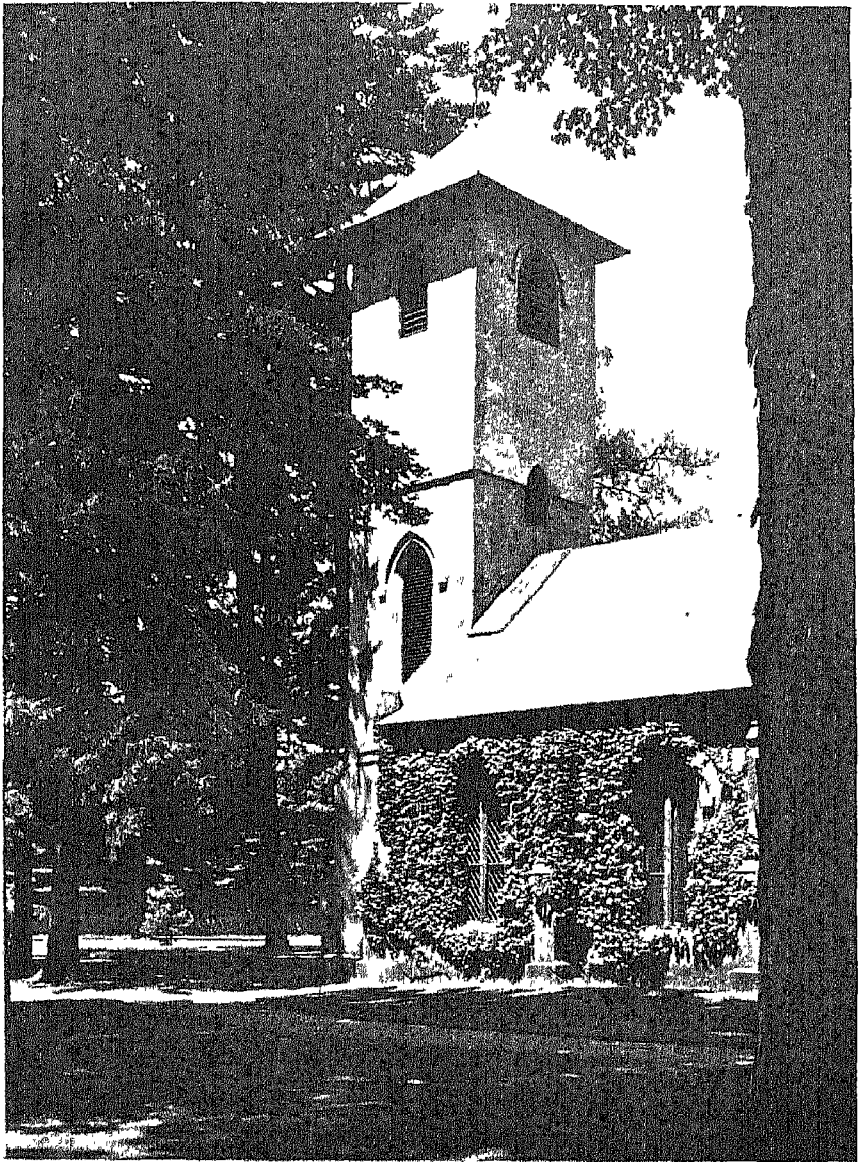
And then the Periclean attitude reveals itself :

"Each one of us must realize the necessity of our personal interest, not only towards our fellow-citizens, but in the Government itself. You must watch, as a public duty, what is done and what is not done at Albany. You must understand the issues that arise in the Legislature and the recommendations made by your Governor, and judge for yourselves if they are right or wrong."

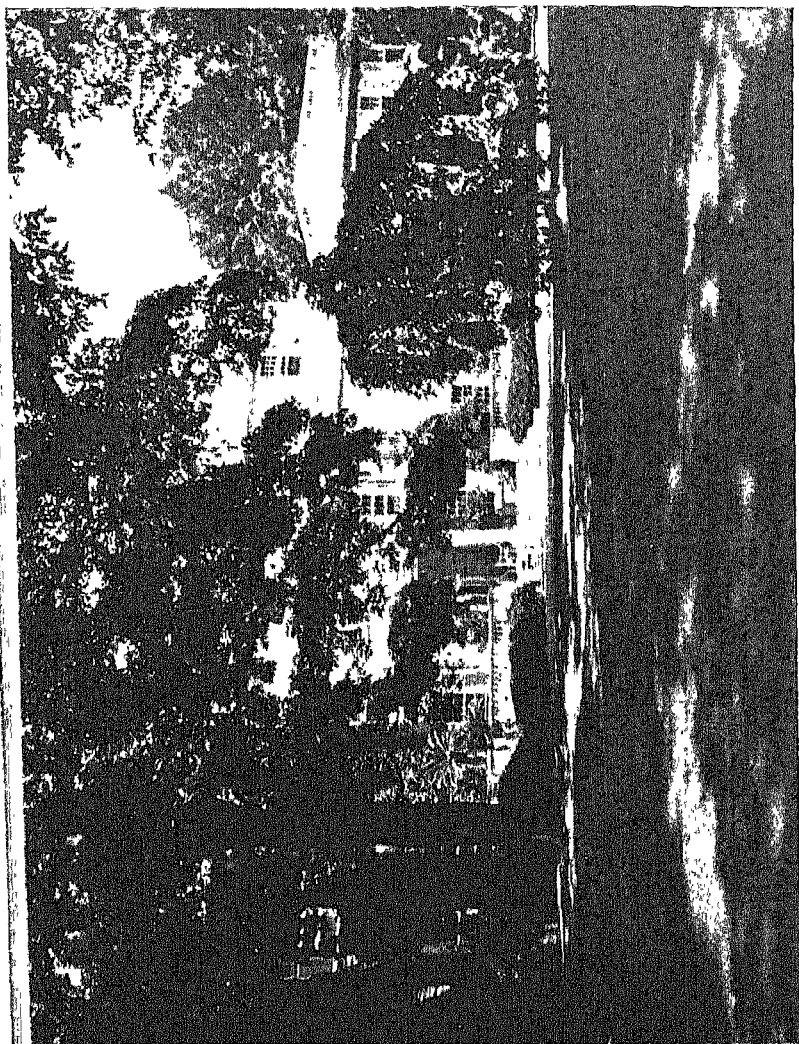
No doubt the new Governor's announcement of his determination to press urgently the right of the People of the State of New York not merely to develop their own water-power for electricity but also to regulate severely its distribution by private enterprise seemed at the time a more significant utterance to the forces of conservatism represented by a Republican Legislature. To us, fifteen years later, what to a contemporary audience may have sounded like soft soap for the mob rings out as a challenge to democracy. That Roosevelt has been able to make Demos judge for himself what is right and what is wrong, what is prudent and what is rash, in spite of the efforts of newspapers, politicians, high finance, and property to keep him at the level of mere feeling, has given lustre even to so tarnished a word as 'demagogue.'

"Thus Athens became a democracy in name, but in fact a monarchy of the foremost citizen," Thucydides wrote of Pericles. That was not the verdict Pericles himself desired. And if it shall be the verdict of posterity upon the United States of to-day it will most certainly not be what Roosevelt desires, for his fame must ultimately depend upon being justified in his belief that the crowd is capable of behaving like an intelligent individual.

Once democracy outgrew the capacity of being addressed reasonably by a single influential speaker, its education was postponed, not to be resumed until the invention of printing. For centuries after the death of Pericles those who tried to sway the crowd appealed to its emotions rather than to its reason : hence the discredit attached to the demagogue



ST JAMES CHURCH IN HYDE PARK
Members of the Roosevelt family are buried in the adjoining cemetery
Colour photograph



A VIEW OF THE HYDE PARK MANSION
Colour photograph

or crowd-leader. Athens herself succumbed to the misguidance of Cleon, and her consequent overthrow by Sparta discredited democracy itself. Much was hoped from printing in the way of educating the crowd, and much indeed was achieved; but education in due course brought the curse of the popular Press, and as the spoken word had been debased to serve emotion rather than reason, so was the written word debased to like purpose.

And then came radio, which Roosevelt was the first demagogue to exploit in the right spirit and with due performance. There is no reason to run away from the word 'demagogue.' Thucydides used it for Pericles. America did not make the mistake Britain made and allow the radio to become what is equivalent to a branch of the civil service; and concerning what the British people have lost by such a surrender of freedom of speech time will administer the lesson too late. Therefore Roosevelt was at liberty to use the radio to establish what amounted to personal contact between him and the New York electorate. He did not have to exhaust himself by working up the emotional indignation of an audience against the obstructiveness of a hostile Legislature to a progressive Governor. He could sit quietly in front of the microphone on April 3, 1929, and say:

"This is in the nature of a preliminary report to the people of the State on the results of the legislative session of 1929. As a State-wide elected official I feel I have a distinct duty to keep the people of the State informed as far as possible as to what goes on in the State Government, and I am very mindful of the fact that I am the Governor not just of Democrats, but of Republicans and all other citizens of the State. That is why this talk and the one which I hope to make next week will be, just as much as I can make them, non-partisan in character. I want merely to state facts and leave the people of the State to draw their own conclusions. . . ."

And then—speaking almost confidentially, it seemed—he went on in that tolerant, agreeable voice of his to explain to every individual elector why between the Republican Legislature at Albany and a public nuisance there was really just a distinction without a difference.

The radio speaker is born, not made; but even a poet can learn something from experience, and a radio speaker can learn much more. Roosevelt with the perfect natural equipment has learned how to apply it to the best advantage. Only two British statesmen have made even a passable job of it at the microphone—Lord Baldwin and Winston Churchill. However, *vox et praeterea nihil* is no use for long, and the former's application of the pathetic fallacy to the office of Prime Minister

has faded from the ether without leaving an echo of it in the public memory. On the other hand, Winston Churchill's use of the microphone in the crisis of June 1940 came as near as mere sound can come to the salvation of a State since the sacred geese of the Capitol saved Rome. What he said will be the living voice of his country's history through time; but if he had not been able to say it in just that way and with just that voice there might have been no history left for his country to celebrate in the future.

Most British statesmen do themselves and their country's cause no service by broadcasting. Even those who can avoid an oratorical fiasco upon the public platform—and they are not numerous—spoil their effectiveness over the air by addressing an assemblage instead of the individual in his own home. Only a unique personality like Winston Churchill is capable in an emergency of making every one of his listeners feel that he or she with himself are together all that Britain is.

Fortunately the arch-enemies of free speech are themselves incompetent with the microphone. Hitler makes his radio audience feel that something must be the matter with their sets. There will be no fighting on the beaches for him when the hour strikes. When his people panic he will not be able to pull them together with a broadcast, and he will probably come to some kind of an unpleasant Struwwelpeter end, like Augustus or Conrad or cruel Frederick. He is the demagogue who must have the emotion of the audience all around him. It is an aphrodisiac eloquence which requires a body to impassion. We who listen to his strident rant and to his braves ululating and baying their "Sieg heils" are left wondering by what fantastic miracle that multitudinous pack of wolves we call the German nation produced a Beethoven or a Goethe. Mussolini could not use the microphone either, but, as with Caruso in the days before electric recording, there is, or rather there was once, a quality in his voice when broadcast which at least allowed the private listener to understand his public triumphs.

Roosevelt took to the air like a swallow, and by his mastery of its potentialities he has been able to hold the attention of an agora of 120,000,000 people by his reasonableness as securely as Pericles once held the attention of an agora of 12,000 by his. In not a single one of his broadcasts is any approach made to the passions of his immense audience. When indignation sometimes asserts itself it is the indignation of one man telling another man about the stupid behaviour of the fellow next door. No doubt, a great deal of art successfully conceals itself in the preparation of these fireside chats; but the final effect is to establish such a close intimacy between Roosevelt and his listeners



CAMPAIGNING BY RADIO AND PLANE

Cartoon from *New York Times Magazine*, October 28, 1928

as to make the notion that he is reading a carefully prepared script appear ridiculous. Possibly at first he did not always write the whole of the script himself. One is continually finding in biographical studies of him that this or that phrase he used was invented by somebody else, which if true only means that a superlatively good actor is well served by his playwrights, for there is never a sentence that sounds like anybody except Roosevelt. And that assertion is made by somebody who

has read right through the six thousand-odd pages of *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. By the way, the name 'fireside chat' was not invented by him. It was the name used by the Press for what he calls "the various radio reports I have made to the people of the nation . . . even when the talk is delivered on a very hot mid-summer evening." He did not adopt it officially until his "intimate talk with the People of the United States on Banking," eight days after his inauguration as their President. Some of those fireside chats he would give in the future would rather suggest that he and his audience were sitting round a lively volcano.

If Roosevelt has relied much on the radio he has not neglected the Press, and if the Press as a whole has been hostile that was due to the prejudice of the owners and not to any lack of popularity among the newspapermen, with whom he has always been on the best of terms. The printed word still preserves its power and is likely to preserve it for many years; and Roosevelt is much too closely in touch with his time to suppose otherwise. Nothing annoys him more than to suggest he is trying to muzzle the Press, as Senator Thomas D. Schall found out with painful results to his dignity as a Senator and to his reputation as a man of common sense.

Without going into details about Roosevelt's two terms as Governor of New York, which space forbids, it can be said that his administration of the State foreshadowed his administration as President.

"It must be borne in mind," he writes in the introduction to the first volume of *The Public Papers and Addresses*,

that the field of activity of State Government is very limited as compared with that of the Federal Government. In relief to agriculture, in protection of labour, in regulation of utilities, in attainment of economic security, in protection of investors and bank depositors . . . the extent of the action which can be taken by any State is, of course, circumscribed by the physical boundaries of the State and by the action or lack of action by sister States. . . .

Restrictions cannot be placed upon business and industry and finance in any single State which will place them at a disadvantage with competing business and industry and finance in neighbouring States. Of course, caution with respect to this feature can at times be carried to unnecessary extremes. In fact, opponents of reform have rushed forward . . . to urge that the slightest departure from *laissez-faire* would cause business and industry to leave their State and go elsewhere.

I have always had considerable doubts that any large number of reputable business men actually have moved their plants out of the



F.D.R., GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, ADDRESSING THE AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE CONFERENCE AT CORNELL WITH HENRY MORGENTHAU, SECRETARY OF TREASURY, AUGUST, 1931.

State of New York because of the advanced social legislation of that State. But there have been some who have sought to exploit the cheaper labour of other regions and obtain an advantage over their New York competitors in terms of human misery. . . .

In the pages of this volume is the story of what was done during my Administration as Governor with respect to old-age security, development of electricity from water-power, adequate regulation of public utility operating and holding companies, unemployment relief by direct and through public works, unemployment insurance, wages and hours of labour, assistance to agriculture, land planning and land use, improvement in the administration of justice, reforestation, aid to the blind, to crippled children, to dependent mothers, and many other steps in progressive government. The growth from this type of State action to the broader front of national action which came with the New Deal was a natural one. . . .

In New York, as later in the Nation, I was able to accomplish reform and progress only because the public was ready for them, wanted them, and was willing to help me carry out the people's will. As Governor, it was often necessary for me to appeal for public support over the heads of the Legislature and sometimes over the almost united opposition of the newspapers of the State. In several instances, what was passed by the Legislature was literally forced from the Republican leaders by demand of public opinion, which never hesitated to make its views known and which found ways of making them known.

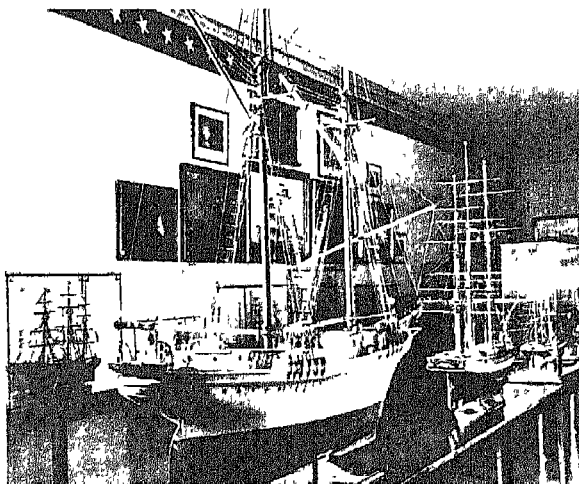
The use of the radio by me in those days not only to appeal directly to the people, but also to describe fully the facts about legislation which were not always given by my Press reports, was the beginning of similar use of the radio by me as President. . . . The radio has proved to be a direct contact with the people, which was available to only two Presidents before me. It has been invaluable as a means of public approach and will, I know, continue to be so in the years to come.

Not to a President Coolidge or President Hoover, either in prosperity or adversity. It gave Governor Roosevelt a majority of 725,001 when he ran for a second term in the autumn of 1930. And that 'one' stood for every single one of the 1,770,342 voters whom as an individual he had persuaded over the air to support him.

When Governor Smith won New York by 385,000 he shattered the previous record majority to smithereens. Now that record had been nearly doubled only a year after the fatal autumn of 1929.

From that moment Franklin D. Roosevelt's name from being one of a dozen possibles for the Presidential nomination in 1932 became the

favourite. The 'Stop Roosevelt' campaign was launched. Kind, harmless, handsome, invalided Dr Jekyll, of Warm Springs, became diabolic Mr Hyde, of Hyde Park, overnight. The stoppers got what comfort they could against the bogymen by reading that Walter Lippmann considered him an amiable gentleman with no qualifications whatever for the Presidency. But it was as difficult to think out that three-quarters of a million majority as it was to think out the stock-market earthquake of October 1929, which had shaken the financial foundations of the United States. The Statue of Liberty quivered apprehensively.



IN THE F.D.R. LIBRARY, HYDE PARK

CHAPTER XI

A PERUSAL of the works written about Franklin D. Roosevelt leaves the diligent reader amused by the amount of paper which has been expended on the task of demonstrating to the rest of the world that everybody was responsible for putting Roosevelt into the White House except Roosevelt himself. To be sure, many of those books were written when the feat had only recently been accomplished, and it may be significant that a great deal less paper has been expended on the task of demonstrating to the rest of the world that everybody except the President himself was responsible for keeping him in the White House, even if many tons of it have been used to argue that his presence there is a menace to the future of his country and the integrity of true Americanism.

The 'Stop Roosevelt' movement, which started as a political manoeuvre with the urban Democrats as soon as he won his second term as Governor of New York by that three-quarters of a million majority, is still going on, and we may expect to see some strange bedfellows swapping nightmares before the issue is decided.

Fascinating though it would be to follow at length the elaborate point and counterpoint of the political fiddling in the East—dangerously like Neronian fiddling in the circumstances—which went on during the months before the Democratic National Convention met at Chicago at the end of June 1932, it might result in British readers being unable to see the wood for the trees, and in a British writer bumping his nose against them. One fact, however, must be realized: during those eighteen months Roosevelt himself displayed a mastery of political ringcraft which for round after round proclaimed him the most agile, astute, and accomplished political heavy-weight of the time. That is important to remember at a moment when he is fighting for the world's championship.

If it was political ringcraft which won Roosevelt the nomination of Chicago, what made him a certainty for the White House should he win that nomination was an address he gave over the radio on April 7, 1932.

Winston Churchill, who had been lecturing during the previous winter through the United States, would tell the House of Commons less than a fortnight later that "Britain, which at the time of his former

visit three years before had been looked upon by Americans as decadent and outworn, was now regarded by them with admiration not unmingled with envy." During that same April in the State of Mississippi alone 16 per cent. of the farm acreage and 12 per cent. of the urban property were 'sold for taxes.' The mortgages and other debts of farms all over the country made a gross indebtedness of more than twice the amount of current income from farming. In 1930 forty-eight millions had been found 'gainfully' employed by the American Federation of Labour census. In 1931 seven millions of these were unemployed. And now in 1932 unemployment was increasing at the rate of twelve thousand a day.

Roosevelt's address on April 7 was given at Albany under the auspices of the Democratic National Committee, and it was intended as a challenge to the Republicans ; but it was intended just as much to be a challenge to the Democrats, for he had not yet been nominated as the Party's Presidential candidate. It was a short speech, and most of it was taken up with criticism of the high tariff, of the loss of purchasing power by the agrarian population, and of the Federal Government's favouring of the big banking, railroad, and other corporations at the expense of the smaller businesses and the little man.

But the words that would win him the Presidency were compressed into four paragraphs :

"Fifteen years ago my public duty called me to an active part in a great national emergency, the World War. Success then was due to a leadership whose vision carried beyond the timorous gesture of sending a tiny army of one hundred and fifty thousand trained soldiers and the regular navy to the aid of our allies. The generalship of that moment conceived of a whole Nation mobilized for war, economic, industrial, social, and military resources gathered into a vast unit capable of and actually in the process of throwing into the scales ten million men equipped with physical needs and sustained by the realization that behind them were the united efforts of one hundred and ten million human beings. It was a great plan, because it was built from bottom to top and not from top to bottom.

"In my calm judgment the Nation faces to-day a more grave emergency than in 1917.

"It is said that Napoleon lost the Battle of Waterloo because he forgot his infantry—he staked too much upon the more spectacular but less substantial cavalry. The present Administration in Washington provides a close parallel. It has either forgotten or it does not want to remember the infantry of our economic army.

"These unhappy times call for the building of plans that rest upon the forgotten, the unorganized, but the indispensable units of

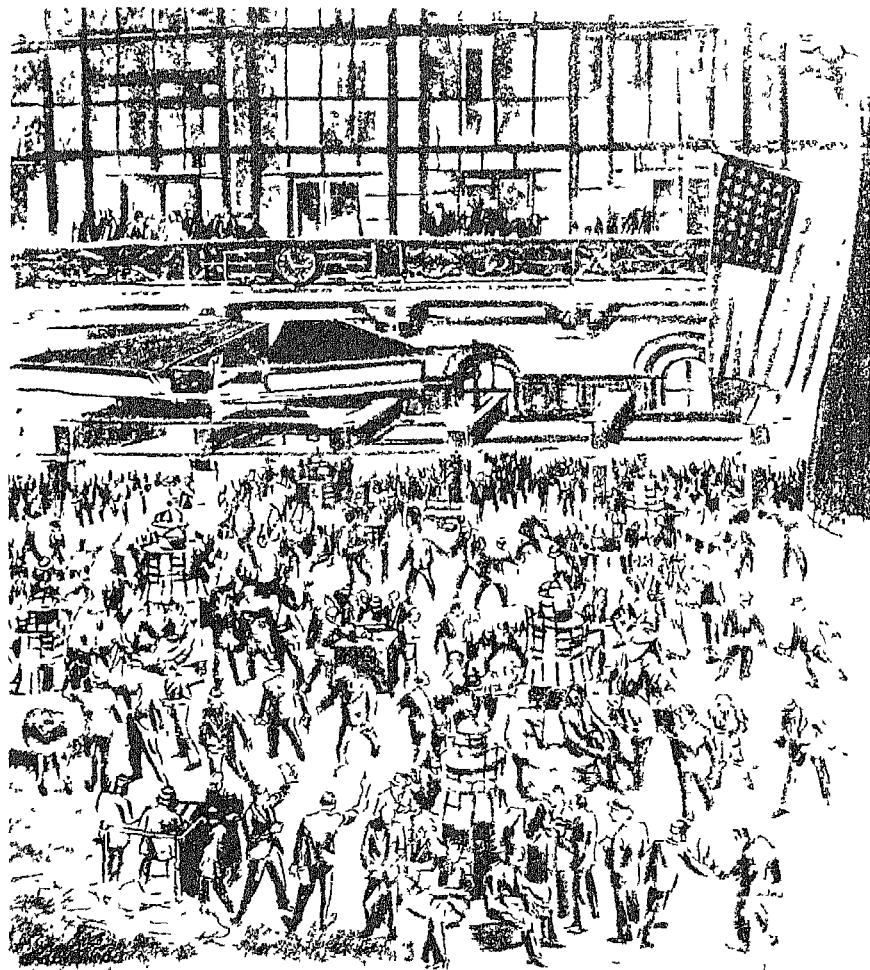
economic power, for plans like those of 1917 that build from the bottom up and not from the top down, that put their faith once more in the forgotten men at the bottom of the economic pyramid ”

Those words were spoken two weeks before Adolf Hitler's forty-third birthday. Three days later he would run the doddering Hindenburg so close for the Presidency of the Reich that he knew the hour of his triumph could not be long delayed. High finance in Great Britain and the United States as well as in Germany itself had put up the money to erect this spellbinder as a barrier against the Communist advance from the east. A nation maddened not by an unjust peace but by an unexpected defeat surrendered to the leadership of a madman and entrusted to him its future. The triumph of that homicidal chatterbox was not long delayed, but its impermanence was mercifully assured on that April 7, 1932, when a few words uttered simply and sincerely by a Governor of New York convinced the forgotten men of the most potentially mighty nation on earth that what was possible in war was possible in peace if they had a leader with the faith, the courage, the energy, and the imagination to put it to the proof.

That speech gave impetus to the 'Stop Roosevelt' movement. Alfred E. Smith, speaking at a Jefferson Day dinner in Washington less than a fortnight later, declared he was willing to take off his coat and work with all his energy against any man who endeavoured to array class against class. Al did not mention Frank by name ; but Massachusetts and New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island, knew whom he meant, and if Al Smith said Roosevelt was no good he must be no good. On the night before the primary to elect the Massachusetts delegation to the Democratic National Convention, Martin Lomasny, a famous ward-leader of Boston, declared that Roosevelt was an aristocrat, a demagogue, and a double-crosser who had capitalized on his invalidism and was using it to excite sympathy. Next day, April 26, the Democracy of Massachusetts went to the polls and elected a delegation of thirty-six, every member of which was pledged to Al Smith.

A week before, Roosevelt himself had been talking at a Jefferson Day dinner at St Paul, Minnesota :

“The great size of the country, enlarged by Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, offers vast advantages for those who live in it. But it imposes grave problems upon those who are vested with its direction and control. In normal times it is likely to live in the isolation of sectionalism. It becomes a loose association of communities, with little common thought, and little realization of mutual interdependence.



THE FLOOR OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE

"Can the Nation's recovery be started here?"

Lithograph from *New York Herald-Tribune*, July 24, 1932

"This reminds me of what Chesterton keenly remarked concerning the members of the British Empire. They are, he says, like the passengers in an omnibus. They get to know each other only in case of an accident. . . .

"Two weeks ago I said that we were facing an emergency to-day more grave than that of the war. This I repeat to-night. . . .

"There will be many in this Nation during the coming months who will implore you not to swop horses crossing a stream. . . . It seems to me that the more truthful, the more accurate plea to the people of the Nation should be this : 'If the old car in spite of frequent emergency repairs has been bumping along downhill on only two cylinders for three long years, it is time to get another car that will start uphill on all four.'

"Jefferson laboured for a widespread concert of thought, capable of concert of action, based on a fair and just concert of interests. Jefferson laboured to bring the scattered farmers, the workers, the business-men, into a participation in national affairs. This was his purpose, and this is the principle upon which the party he founded was based. It should now present itself as an agency of national unity."

Colonel House was right when he said that Roosevelt was a student of American geography who profited by his knowledge of the existence of Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, the two Dakotas, and the other foster States of the Union.

On June 16 at Chicago the Republican National Convention mournfully nominated Herbert Hoover for a second term. The alternative was to admit that the Hoover Administration had made a mess of the country, and that was as good as to admit that the Republicans themselves had been making a mess of the country ever since the return to normalcy in 1920. Big Business and High Finance had no hope of keeping Hoover at the White House in a straight contest. The way to stop Roosevelt was to split the Democratic Party, as Theodore Roosevelt had split the Republican Party in 1912. The hopes of Big Business and High Finance were centred upon Al Smith and the moneyed Democrats of the East. It was not expected that Smith could win the nomination. The plan was that Smith with his New England diehards and his sixty-odd urban votes from the New York delegation, whose twenty-eight up-State votes would go to Roosevelt, should block Roosevelt's nomination until a compromise candidate was put forward in the person of Newton D. Baker. The Western diehards for Roosevelt would then 'bolt,' and Hoover would be elected by the splitting of the Democratic votes between Roosevelt and Baker. That the result might lead to bloodshed and chaos all over the country was a chance Big Business and High Finance were prepared to take.

Newton Baker was a pacifist intellectual lawyer whom Wilson had made Secretary of War in 1916, and a very good one he was. He

supported idealism until idealism faded out in 1920, and then Big Business got hold of him. His career is a cautionary tale which should be studied by British intellectuals of the Left. There are a number of potential Newt Bakers among the new statesmen of Bloomsbury.

Of course, Baker never admitted that he wanted the nomination. If it had come his way he would have accepted it from motives of the purest patriotic self-abnegation. That so many people could believe Roosevelt's unwillingness to run for the Governorship of New York was feigned shows how widespread that kind of false humility is. In fairness to Smith it can be allowed that he genuinely did believe Roosevelt was a radical menace, even if his failure to win the Presidency himself was likely to be sweetened by the subsequent failure of the younger man.

At the end of June the Democratic National Convention met, as the Republicans had done, at Chicago. In a June twenty years earlier it had been at Chicago that the Bull Moose delegates bolted, and it had been at Chicago that they had nominated Theodore Roosevelt at the Bull Moose Convention that August. The stage was appropriately set for one of history's revival performances.

The first battle at the convention was over Prohibition. Was the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to be a plank in the Democratic platform? Cordell Hull was the leading 'dry' exponent, and when Al Smith rose to make his speech and wipe out Cordell Hull's arguments with a 'wet' mop he was accorded such a tremendous ovation that he began to believe there was going to be a stampede to his candidacy. No doubt the diehard Smith delegates of New England were impressively noisy, but the weight of the encouraging din came from the twenty-five thousand natives of Chicago in the galleries, who, unfortunately for Smith, were not voting. The resolution to adopt Repeal as a plank was carried by thirty-five to seventeen, and it is noteworthy that until after the nomination Prohibition seemed to be much more of a major issue than the deplorable economic situation.

Roosevelt had chosen John E. Mack to make the nominating speech for him. It was District Attorney John E. Mack who on a hot Saturday morning at the end of August 1910 was standing with a group of friends outside the Courthouse in Poughkeepsie when young Franklin Roosevelt came into town to do some errands, and who kidnapped him for the policemen's picnic at Fairview, "a joyous occasion of clams and sauerkraut and real beer," at which young Roosevelt made his first public speech. That was when the Democratic wise men of Poughkeepsie thought it would be a good idea for young Roosevelt to become

a figure in local politics. And it was District Attorney Mack who on October 6, 1910, at the District Convention in Poughkeepsie nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt as the Democratic candidate for State Senator of the Twenty-sixth District consisting of Dutchess, Columbia, and Putnam Counties along the Hudson. Now, in 1932, he said:

"He has given me to understand that to his ears the plodding hesitating utterance of one whose heart is filled with a friendship which has existed for a quarter of a century would be to him a finer and more welcome tribute than that of the most gifted tongue. This loyalty to old friends is characteristic of my candidate. . . .

"Country-born and country-loving, this man's whole political life is an open book. His reputation is unsullied, his character spotless. . . . As a young man, as a student, as a lawyer, as a son, as a husband, as a father, as a legislator, and as an executive he has measured up to the traditions of true American manhood."

And then John Mack pointed to the "imposing procession of sister states marching to-day beneath his banner: Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Arkansas, Louisiana, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and Delaware. And add Alaska, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the Panama Canal Zone."

Governor Ely, of Massachusetts, now stepped to the microphone and faced the huge stadium to make a most eloquent speech nominating Alfred E. Smith, who was listening to it over the radio in his Chicago hotel, as no doubt was Governor Roosevelt in the Executive Mansion at Albany:

"After his defeat who reorganized the party machinery? Who carried on the battle? Who has set the course? Brains, force, leadership, human interest, organization, colour, contrast, votes. Why pause? Why hesitate?

"Is there a ghost of other years hovering about this convention hall to dominate your mind, your heart, your conscience? Does the ghost of fear dominate you? . . .

"I speak for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. . . . I believe that I voice the sentiments of the industrial East. The prejudices of our Protestant ancestors against entrusting government to those of a different religious faith have long since been wiped away by many a successful experience through which we have found that a man

imbued with faith in God, whatever the creed, may be entrusted safely with the reins of government."

And then Governor Ely called upon the veteran hero of the Democracy, upon Andrew Jackson, the President of a century ago :

"We call to you, 'Old Hickory.' We call to you, though we know that you cannot answer from your homeland in the South. God brought you to us for an earlier crisis and returned you to your fathers. But He who guides the destiny of nations looks upon both the homelands of the South and the sidewalks of New York. I am the small voice of the inarticulate souls of the millions of America, begging you to respond to their cry for the leadership of one of their own. I but voice his nomination, moved by deeper, more fundamental, more vital powers. As I stand here I devoutly believe that a Divine Providence has given us this man and preserved him so that you might make him the instrument for the preservation of popular government and democratic freedom.

"Let us end government by doubt; let us establish a government of decision, of action, and of progress. For the Democratic Party, for the United States of America, for the needs of humanity I give to this convention the name of Alfred E. Smith."

Amid terrific enthusiasm the banners of the States with delegates pledged to him moved into the Smith parade. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and of the Territories the Philippines all solid, and with them two-thirds of the New York delegation, and that two-thirds more numerous than the largest whole delegation of any other state.

Other candidates were put into nomination—Governor Byrd, of Virginia; Governor Ritchie, of Maryland; favourite sons of Ohio, Oklahoma, Missouri; and, most important of all, Speaker John Nance Garner, with not only the forty-six votes of his home state of Texas but also the forty-four votes of California led by W. G. McAdoo.

At the end of a stifling all-night sitting with three ballots Roosevelt's roll had crept to 682 votes. He required another 86 to give him the two-thirds necessary for nomination. And the Smith forces showed no sign of yielding.

Big James A. Farley, a teetotal but not 'dry' Catholic from up-State New York who was Roosevelt's extremely competent manager, and Louis Howe were worried. They did not want a long drawn-out battle, for it would do Roosevelt no good in the campaign even if he should win the nomination at last. It would suggest division in the Party. Moreover, there was that break to Newton Baker in the offing, and the Smith opposition to Roosevelt was bitter enough to support a

compromise candidate if such support would stop Roosevelt. There was talk too of support for Baker in Mississippi, Iowa, Alabama, and Colorado. Ohio would easily switch to another favourite son. The break might begin after the fourth ballot if it was inconclusive. Why had Texas and California withheld those precious ninety votes?

On that night of Thursday, June 30, James M. Curley, the Irish Catholic Mayor of Boston who had fought against the whole of the Massachusetts Democracy on behalf of Roosevelt's nomination, and had lost his place on his own state's delegation at the primary, telephoned William Randolph Hearst on his San Simeon ranch in California. The newspaper magnate had been supporting 'Cactus Jack,' the Texas 'poker-player,' for the Presidency.

"Mr Garner cannot be nominated for the Presidency," Mayor Curley told Hearst, "but if you will throw your support to Mr Roosevelt I can guarantee that Mr Garner will be nominated for Vice-President. In fact, I am ready to lead the fight for him."

Whether it actually was that conversation with Curley which changed Hearst's attitude is not certain. What is certain is that Hearst telephoned that night to McAdoo at his hotel in Chicago, and that McAdoo telephoned to Speaker Garner in Washington. Next day when the roll-call reached California the lanky figure of McAdoo mounted the platform.

"Speak louder," came cries from all over the Stadium.

"I'll make it loud enough," he cried. "California came here to nominate a President of the United States. She did not come here to deadlock this convention or engage in another devastating contest like that of 1924. The interest of the country will best be served by a change in power. If the contest here were prolonged it would only lead to schisms. When a man comes into a Convention with almost seven hundred votes . . ."

Here a wild demonstration lasting half an hour prevented McAdoo's going on. The Roosevelt supporters knew what was coming and gave way to an intoxication of delight. When silence came McAdoo announced:

"California, forty-four votes for Roosevelt."

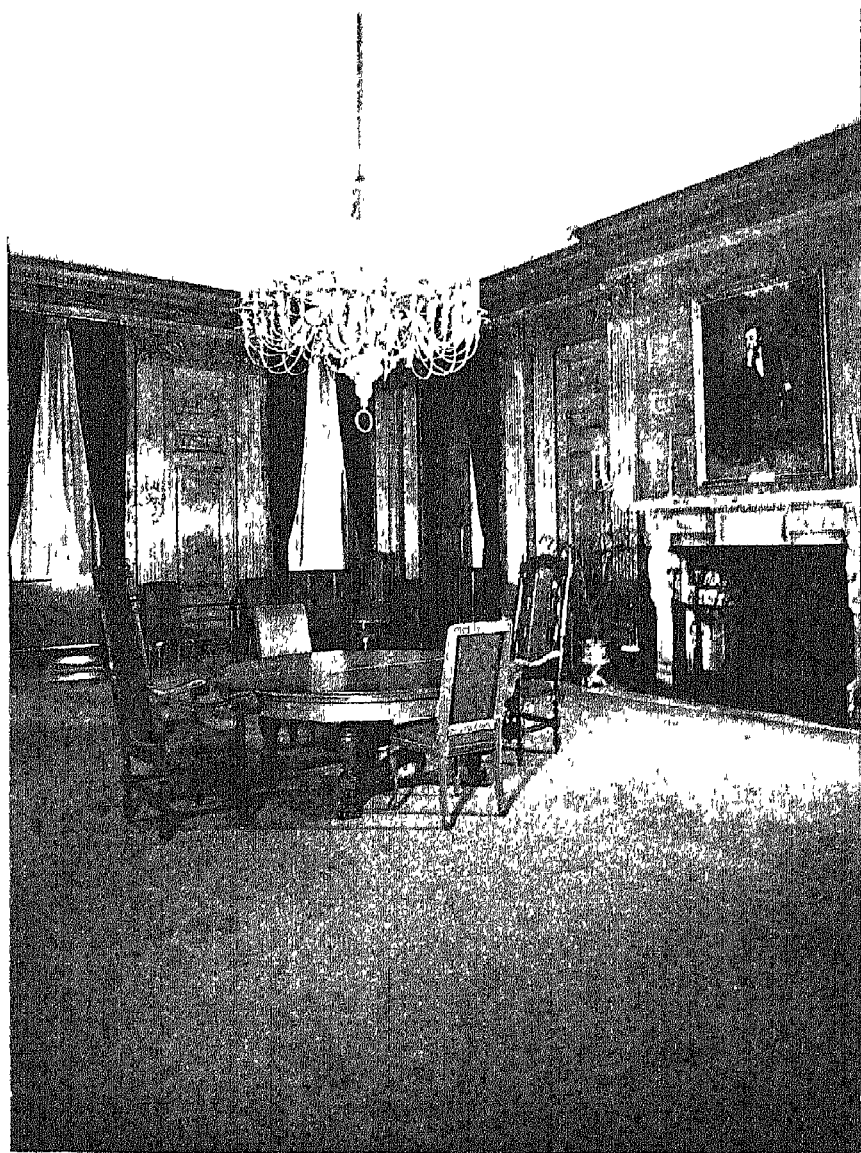
The balloting went on.

Mayor Anton Cermak, of Chicago, declared:

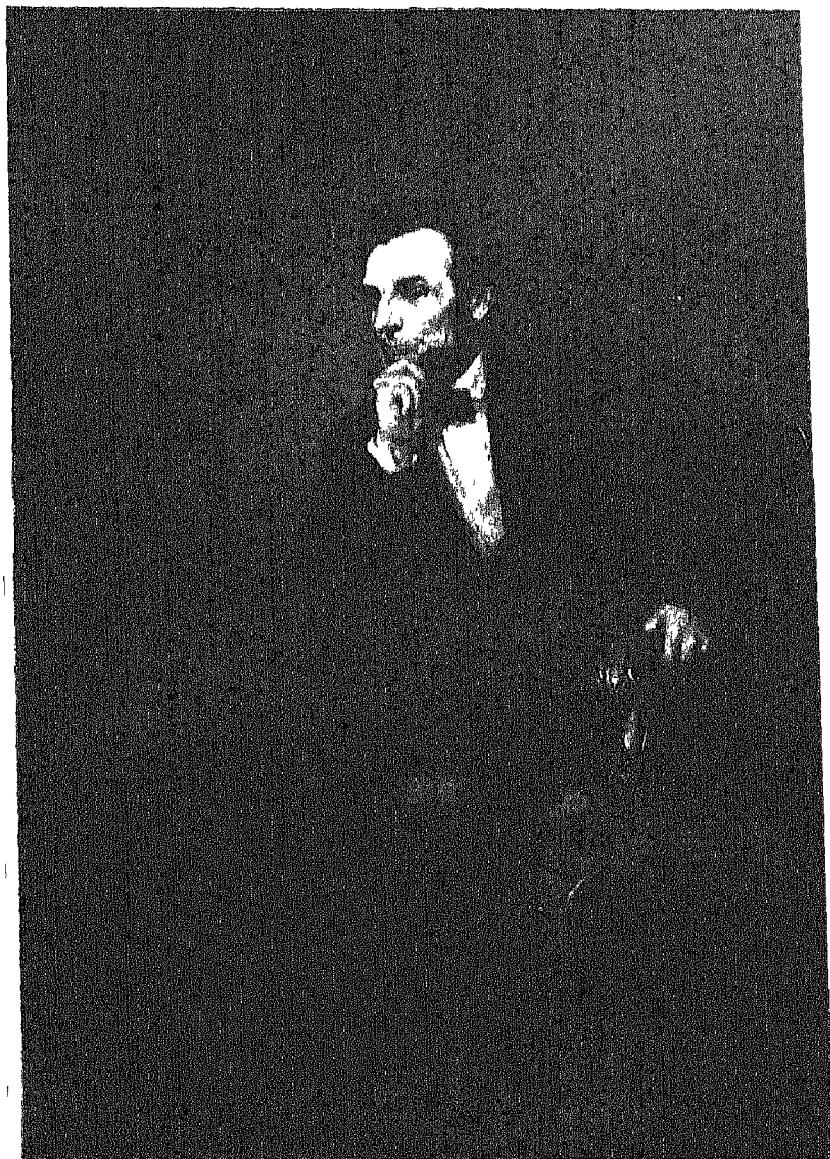
"Illinois, thirty-eight votes for Roosevelt." There were still a few for Smith out of the fifty-eight Illinois delegates.

Then Maine:

"As Maine goes, so goes the Union. Maine, twelve votes for Roosevelt."



THE STATE DINING-ROOM IN THE WHITE HOUSE
Colour photograph



ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809-65)
Oil painting by G. P. A. Healey
White House, State Dining Room

The cheering grew louder. Governor Ritchie had given Maryland's sixteen votes for Roosevelt.

Governor Ely mounted the platform :

"Massachusetts, thirty-six votes for Alfred E. Smith."

The gallery gave him a cheer for his obstinacy.

Then New Hampshire :

"New Hampshire was the first state to declare for the winner. New Hampshire, eight votes for Roosevelt."

By the way, the Republican Governor of New Hampshire at this date was John G. Winant.

"New Jersey, thirty-two votes for Alfred E. Smith."

"Rhode Island, ten votes for Alfred E. Smith."

"Texas, forty-six votes for Roosevelt."

The deadlock was broken. Franklin D. Roosevelt was nominated with 945 votes to 190½ for Alfred E. Smith. And even then the Smith diehards would not make the nomination unanimous.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and sixty-three of the New York delegates, with a few odd votes from other states, held firm for Smith. Tammany was determined not to forgive Roosevelt ; but a more vital rancour in the circumstances was that of McAdoo, who was able to get level with Smith for knocking him out of the nomination in 1924, and that of William Randolph Hearst, who was able to settle an old account with Smith for refusing to run with him on the same ticket in 1922.

Smith himself had been listening in to the proceedings at his hotel. When McAdoo spoke he knew his hopes were finished. He turned to his office staff and bade them pack up. Without comment he went back to New York.

During the Presidential campaign Al Smith would make one or two speeches for Roosevelt ; but he never believed that Roosevelt was the right man for the crisis, and not so far hence he would be helping to found the American Liberty League designed to protect the individual against bureaucracy.

Speculation about the course of events if Smith had won the nomination against McAdoo in 1924 and gone on to win the election against Coolidge is idle. The point is that by 1932 he was too late for what Roosevelt, in accepting renomination at Philadelphia in 1936, would call a "rendezvous with destiny."

"There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny."

Yes, Al Smith was born a few years too late. The man who has risen from the sidewalks of New York to the Empire State Building on his own power is the last man to accept from a younger man the gospel of equal opportunity for all and the prospect of a world of synthetic potential Al Smiths hatched out in the incubator of bureaucracy. Our hearts may beat in sympathy with an individualism conscious of its social obligations, like that of Al Smith ; but our heads, if brain be still the master of bone, must admit Roosevelt's acceptance of the inexorable facts of material progress. Our concern, like his, will be to preserve from the past what ballast we can from the weight of human experience through the ages, with which to steady the ship in the typhoon that is now blowing after the trade winds of the nineteenth century.

Roosevelt's gesture in chartering a plane to fly him from New York to accept the nomination in the convention hall was probably inspired as much by spontaneous enthusiasm as by any intention to be dramatic. He must have genuinely wanted to get on as quickly as possible with the job entrusted to him. Owing to a storm, symbolic of the whole situation, he was longer in reaching Chicago than he had expected on that evening of July 2.

"Chairman Walsh, my friends of the Democratic National Convention in 1932, I appreciate your willingness after these six arduous days to remain here, for I know well the sleepless hours which you and I have had. I regret that I am late, but I have no control over the winds of heaven and could only be thankful for my Navy training.

"The appearance before a National Convention of its nominee for President, to be formally notified of his selection, is unprecedented and unusual, but these are unprecedented and unusual times. I have started out on the tasks that lie ahead by breaking the absurd traditions that the candidate should remain in professed ignorance of what has happened for weeks until he is formally notified of that event many weeks later. . . .

"Let it be from now on the task of our Party to break foolish traditions and leave it to the Republican leadership, far more skilled in that art, to break promises. . . .

"Here and now I invite those nominal Republicans who find that their conscience cannot be squared with the groping and the failure of their Party leaders to join hands with us : here and now, in equal measure, I warn those nominal Democrats who squint at the future with their faces turned toward the past, and who feel no responsibility to the demands of the new time, that they are out of step with their Party. . . .

"The Republican leaders tell us economic laws sacred, inviolable, unchangeable—cause panics which no one could prevent. But while they prate of economic laws men and women are starving. We must lay hold of the fact that economic laws are not made by nature. They are made by human beings. . . .

"I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people. Let us all here assembled constitute ourselves prophets of a new order of competence and courage. This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people."

When Roosevelt promised that new deal, a phrase which had been coined while he and his family and a few intimate friends were following through those hot nights the course of the Chicago Convention over the radio at the Executive Mansion in Albany, he gave the promise with perfect belief in his own ability to carry it out. It is permissible to guess that from the moment in November 1930 he knew the size of the majority by which the people of the State of New York had elected him Governor for another two years, he felt pretty confident that he would be elected President in November 1932. The British reader may ask how it was that two-thirds of the New York delegation failed to support his nomination at Chicago, but the explanation of that would involve a digression about city politics which the author must regretfully deny himself. What was more significant to the future about that 725,001 majority was that 167,000 of those votes came from up-State rural New York, a Republican stronghold, the landslide in which was an indication of terrestrial upheavals liable to occur right across the United States.

Roosevelt made up his mind that if he was elected President he would have a definite programme. He may not have foreseen quite how bad the economic situation would be by March 1933 when he would take over the rudder from the nerveless hands of Herbert Hoover, but things were going from bad to worse fast enough to make it vital to prepare himself for a difficult time. To this end he gathered round him that small body of experts which was popularly known as the Brain Trust. The political side was looked after by men well chosen in consultation with Louis Howe. Their business was to win votes. The business of the Brain Trust was to prevent those votes being won under false pretences.

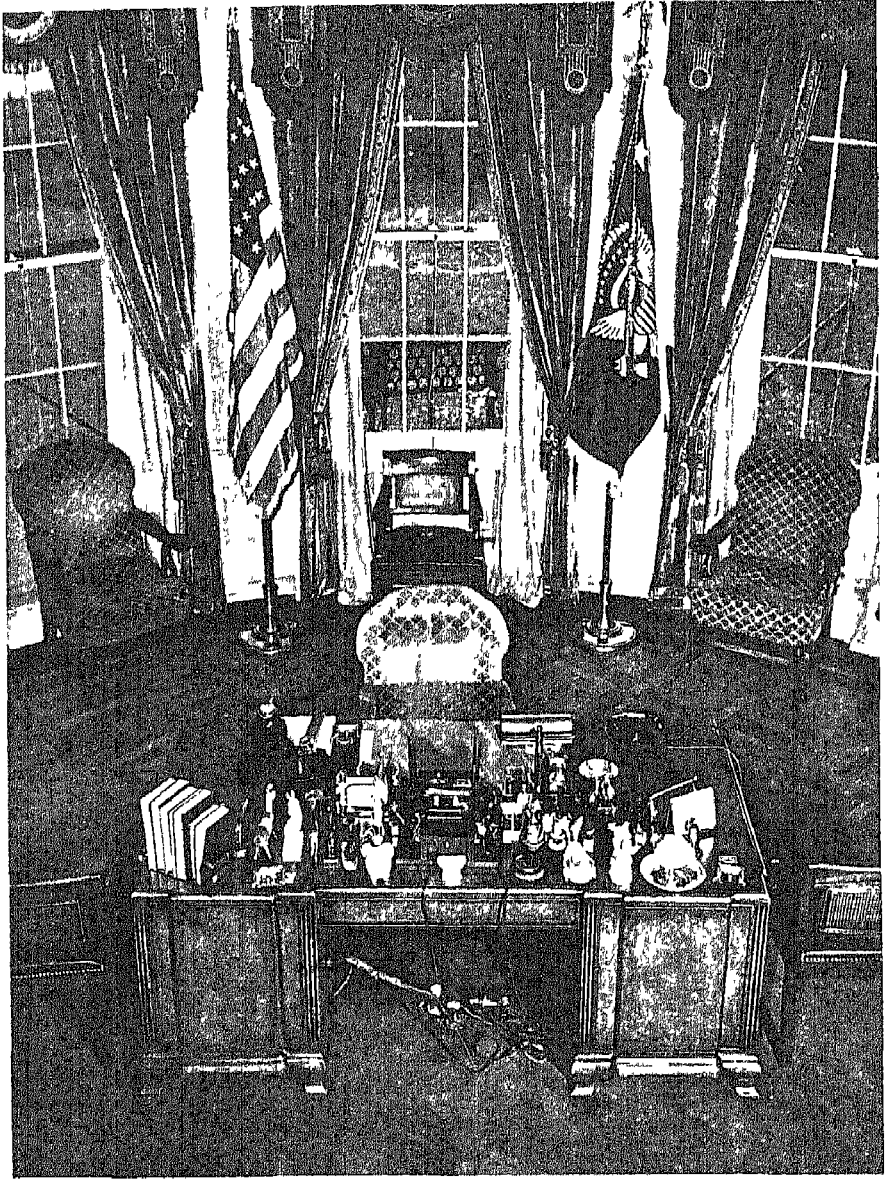
The leading figure was Raymond Moley, Professor of Public Law at Columbia University, who was a criminologist of eminence. Roosevelt first engaged him to plan a model probation system (what is called

a parole system in America) for New York. At the end of 1931 he invited him to supervise the preparation of campaign material. Moley brought in two other academic figures from his university—Rexford Tugwell, on the staff of the Economics School, and Adolf Augustus Berle, on the staff of the Law School. The distrust of intellectual opinion which animates British politics is not less keen in America, and the members of the Brain Trust would in due course be denounced as a Mephistophelian group to whom Faustus D. Roosevelt had sold his soul in return for an illusion of administrative youth. Not that the Brain Trust was entirely academic. There were many members of Roosevelt's advisory group, and though all of them were intelligent, by no means was even a majority academic. However, the three professors were the ones who particularly caught the public eye.

The work of the Brain Trust is traceable in all the campaign speeches printed in the *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, so admirably compiled and collated by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, himself an associate of the Brain Trust, who was the Governor's counsel during his two terms at Albany. That they did a great job of work nobody could deny; but all their work would have been useless without the right candidate. It may be true that Hoover was beaten six months before the election by any candidate who should be nominated to run against him; but that does not explain how Roosevelt, once he was elected, managed to be elected for a second term by a record majority. Nor does the work of the Brain Trust explain it. In fact, the only explanation is the man himself.

There was one speech in particular on which the Brain Trust with many of their associates worked. This was delivered at the Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, on September 23, 1932, and if ever a speech prepared a country for a revolution that Commonwealth Club speech did. Yet at the time it was regarded as academic liberalism effective enough as sentiment but outside the scope of practical politics.

At the moment of writing, comment on President Roosevelt's message to the 78th Congress on January 7, 1943, suggests that it has been received in the United States almost with relief on account of its non-committal character. Nevertheless, if the occasion shall serve, Roosevelt will be able to use that speech as a commitment of unequivocal clarity, and none of his countrymen will be able to reproach him for evasiveness, should that commitment run counter to a post-victory mood. The importance of the Commonwealth Club speech is not its influence upon the election but its justification of Roosevelt's philosophy. If he was wrong he took the risk of being wrong before he went to the polls.



THE PRESIDENT'S DESK IN THE WHITE HOUSE

"The issue of government has always been whether individual men and women will have to serve some system of government or economics, or whether a system of government or economics exists to serve individual men and women. . . . The final word belongs to no man. Yet we can still believe in change and in progress. Democracy . . . is a quest, a never-ending seeking for better things."

Jefferson, he went on, considered that people "had two sets of rights, those of personal competency and those involved in acquiring and possessing property. By "personal competency" he meant the right of free thinking, freedom of forming and expressing opinions, and freedom of personal living, each man according to his own rights. To insure the first set of rights, a Government must so order its functions as not to interfere with the individual. But even Jefferson realized that the exercise of the property rights might so interfere with the rights of the individual that the Government, without whose assistance the property rights could not exist, must intervene, not to destroy individualism, but to protect it.

"You are familiar with the great political duel which followed ; and how Hamilton and his friends, building toward a dominant centralized power, were at length defeated in the great election of 1800, by Mr Jefferson's party. Out of that duel came the two parties, Republican and Democratic, as we know them to-day.

"So began, in American political life, the new day, the day of the individual against the system, the day in which individualism was made the great watchword of American life. . . .

"It was in the middle of the nineteenth century that a new force was released and a new dream created. The force was what is called the industrial revolution, the advance of steam and machinery and the rise of the forerunners of the modern industrial plant. The dream was the dream of an economic machine, able to raise the standard of living for every one ; to bring luxury within the reach of the humblest ; to annihilate distance by steam power and later by electricity ; and to release every one from the drudgery of the heaviest manual toil."

Then Roosevelt went on to show that the "talents of men of tremendous will and tremendous ambition" had had to be used to consummate the dream, and that during the period of expansion, when there was equal opportunity for all, it was the business of government not to interfere but to assist in the development of industry.

"A glance at the situation to-day only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity . . . no longer exists. Our industrial plant is

built ; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long been reached.

" . . . Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed. . . . If the process of concentration goes on at the same rate (as during the last three decades) at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations, and run by perhaps a hundred men. . . .

"All this calls for a re-appraisal of values. . . . Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer . . . business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to re-establish markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of under-consumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come. . . . As I see it the task of government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. . . ."

And then toward the end of what can be called an epoch-making speech, even though hardly anybody at the time seemed to appreciate that Roosevelt was restating in terms of contemporary application what Jefferson's social contract had stated in the Declaration of Independence, he declared :

"Every man has a right to life ; and this means that he has a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right ; but it may not be denied him. We have no actual famine or dearth ; our industrial and agricultural mechanism can produce enough and to spare. Our government formal and informal, political and economic, owes to every one an avenue to possess himself of a portion of that plenty sufficient for his needs, through his own work.

"Every man has a right to his own property ; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his savings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which, in the nature of things, afford no chance of labour ; childhood, sickness, old age. In all thoughts of property this right is paramount ; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accord with this principle, we must restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it. . . .

"The final term of the high contract was for liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . . We know that individual liberty and

individual happiness mean nothing unless both are ordered in the sense that one man's meat is not another man's poison. We know that . . . the right to read, to think, to speak, to choose and live a mode of life, must be respected at all hazards. We know that liberty to do anything which deprives others of those elemental rights is outside the protection of any compact ; and that government in this regard is the maintenance of a balance, within which every individual may have a place if he will take it ; in which every individual may find safety if he wishes it ; in which every individual may attain such power as his ability permits, consistent with his assuming the accompanying responsibility. . . .

"Government includes the art of formulating [such] a policy as will receive general support ; persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching always, because the greatest duty of a statesman is to educate."

The British reader may ask at this point what all the fuss is about. Such a speech is one that Mr Gladstone might have delivered before the Duke of Wellington was dead. This is nothing more revolutionary than the liberalism with which we have been familiar as a self-evident proposition of enlightened political theory for years.

But the difference between Great Britain and the United States in 1932 was that the former was a theoretical democracy which since 1689 had consented to be controlled by an oligarchy, whereas the latter was a true democracy from which effective power had been wrested by an oligocracy. An oligarchy governs : an oligocracy dominates. It may sometimes be a distinction without a difference. The point is that the English desire oligarchy, and have succeeded in imposing it successfully on the Scots and Welsh, both of whom detest oligarchy and are as genuinely democratic as the English are the reverse. The English oligarchy has almost continuously known when to surrender to the demands of liberalism, which may be due to a profound instinct for self-protection, but has not been less effective therefore. This oligarchic tendency is as noticeable in the Labour Party as in the Conservative Party, and it is a commonplace of political observation that the wildest English revolutionary can be tamed by office. The result of this oligarchic liberalism has been that the British democracy is itself liberal. The American democracy is not liberal, or rather, it *was* not liberal until Roosevelt began to educate it so successfully that, in spite of the bitter opposition of the conservative elements of American democracy, his term of office has been twice renewed.

What Roosevelt realized was that unless the greatest democracy in the world was willing to keep pace morally with its material advance it would either disintegrate into groups of states or follow the evolu-

tionary trend by turning to Communism or to Fascism. It must be remembered that in 1932 Mussolini's experiment had had a considerable measure of success. It was not fully appreciated then that it could be kept going only by adventures outside Italy. Hitler, too, at this date presented himself to conservative opinion as the most promising solution of the German muddle.

Roosevelt could hardly help noting that the nation whose tyranny over its colonies had led to the declaration of American independence was now in many directions more liberal than the mighty nation into which those colonies had developed. He was not willing to accept this as a reasonable or satisfactory condition of affairs; but he saw that as long as politics was considered a discreditable profession for a gentleman the political conscience of the United States must be stunted. Politics had no business to be something outside the body politic: they must become the expression of its life.

Roosevelt's earlier career has been related at some length, because that, as it seems to the present writer, is the key to all that he stands for to-day. He must be judged by behaviour, never by theory. He was born with a natural sensitiveness to other people's feelings, which finally is what we mean by a gentleman. He was lucky enough to have parents who gave those feelings the opportunity to express themselves. He was wise enough to choose for his wife a woman who at her own pace caught up slowly with his own political ideas, and then kept just a little ahead of them. Mrs Roosevelt suggests a much more radical outlook than her husband has ever acquired, which has meant that Roosevelt himself has had to keep moving all the time. No doubt that was inherent in his character, but if there ever was an inclination to sit back politically and decide he had had enough of the odium of government he was debarred by her example. The satisfactory position for the world as these words are written is that President Roosevelt's mental arteries do not show a trace of hardening, and it is doubtful if this can be postulated for any other contemporary political leader. Some of his critics say that he is too impressionable. What does that matter if he retains his self-confidence? And no critic has ever suggested he was in danger of losing that. It means that he is not afraid of making mistakes, and if he had not made a few mistakes in the New Deal it would have meant not merely that he was a superman, but that the whole United States was a nation of supermen.

It is unlikely that when in September 1932 Roosevelt made that speech at the Commonwealth Club he realized a fraction of what would be involved in applying its theory of government to the circumstances

with which he would be faced in March 1933. He seems to be laying down the general direction of a long-term policy to be applied after the threatened economic crisis has been averted by energetic and judicious action. That speech had a certain kinship in mood with his Inaugural Speech as Governor of New York, which was also a statement of ideals requiring a long-term policy.

As things turned out the economic situation at home rapidly deteriorated all through that autumn of 1932, and circumstance set the pace. On November 8 Franklin D. Roosevelt became President-elect of the United States, having carried forty-two states to six in the electoral college and with a popular vote of 22,813,786 against 15,759,286 for Herbert Hoover. The Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, by which the President-elect was to assume office on January 20 and the newly elected Congress on January 3 after the November election, was still in process of ratification. Therefore the country had to face what was almost the equivalent of an interregnum during the catastrophic worsening of the economic situation at home until the President-elect could assume office on March 4 of the New Year. The economic situation abroad was also deteriorating fast, and the problem of the European war debts to the United States was becoming acute.

Roosevelt wisely disembarassed himself from President Hoover's completely well-meant invitation to take a hand in any negotiations about debts, though he made it clear that he "would welcome any steps which President Hoover might take in foreign matters in the way of exploratory work and preliminary survey."

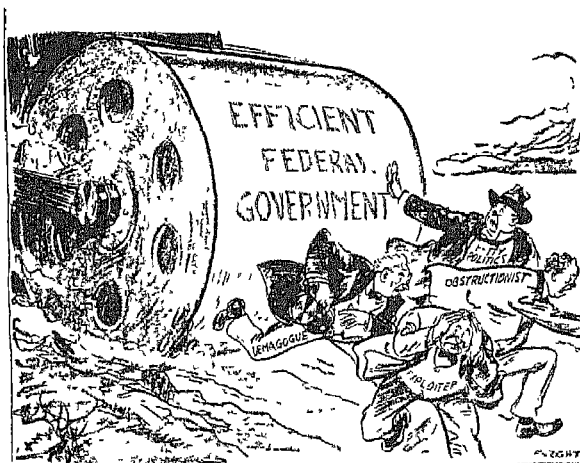
On February 15 the President-elect was in Miami after a brief fishing holiday in Florida waters. A lunatic fired several shots at Roosevelt, wounding five people in the crowd, among them Mayor Anton Cermak, of Chicago, who was standing next to Roosevelt. It had been Cermak who had led the Illinois delegates that declared for Roosevelt at the Democratic National Convention. "I'm glad it was me and not you," the Mayor whispered as he fell back in death.

Away over in Germany another homicidal maniac, who on Roosevelt's fifty-first birthday had become Chancellor of the Reich, might have heard by now of Goering's Gunpowder Plot to fire the Reichstag as a plan to force the political issue in the elections that would give him plenary power on March 5, the day after the Inauguration of the new President of the United States. History offers few such examples of portentous coincidence.

On the day before that attempted assassination in Miami the banks of Michigan had been closed by the Governor for what was euphemis-

tically called a holiday. On February 25 the banks of Maryland closed. From then onward until March 4, when the banks of New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania declared a holiday not merely over the week-end but beyond the week-end indefinitely, almost every day more and more banks were suspending payment in state after state.

That was the position when on that March morning in Washington Roosevelt faced a nation struck down by financial poliomyelitis. It will not seem the mere enthusiasm of a biographer for his subject to assert that not another man in the United States could have pulled the country together, perhaps not so much by what he said as by the tone of the voice in which millions listening to him over the air heard him say it. Seven years would pass, and on a June day in England Winston Churchill would rally a nation by an equally impressive transmission of courage over the air. We have had a wearing time, we who have lived through this first half of the twentieth century, but at least we can console ourselves with a right to sit for ever in the future with the most notable audiences in history. *PS*



THE JUGGERNAUT

Cartoon by Enright from the *Review of Reviews*, April 1933

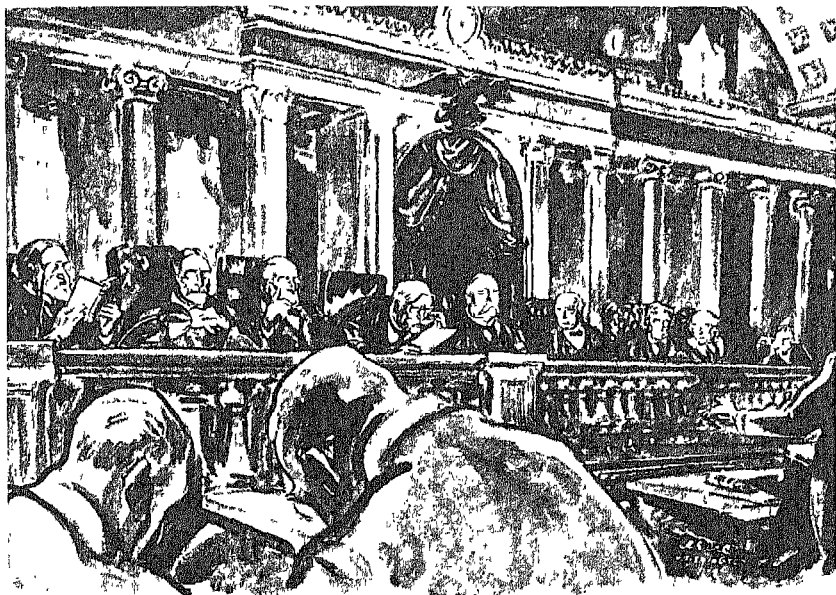
CHAPTER XII

CONTEMPORARY criticism of Winston Churchill's direction of the grand strategy of the British part in the Second World War may be endorsed or it may be repudiated by the historians of the future. Nobody writing under the influence of immediate emotion and without adequate information is able to express an opinion worthy of an intelligent reader's attention. What can be asserted while the issue is still undecided is that there would have been no grand strategy to exercise the wits of contemporary criticism unless Winston Churchill had frightened the German High Command by the sound of his voice on the anniversary of Waterloo in 1940. Consider the effect if the words written by Winston Churchill had been spoken by any other British statesman. They would neither have encouraged his fellow-countrymen nor dismayed the enemy. It was the combination of manner with matter which was effective. That being granted, and it must be granted because it is incontrovertible, a faint impatience is begotten by criticism which is never perfectly consistent, inasmuch as it alternates with the ebb and flow of external circumstance between blame for doing too much and blame for doing too little.

It would be a ticklish job for a foreign observer, even if he were a qualified authority on economics, to argue the merits or demerits of President Roosevelt's administration of the internal economy of the United States; but even as an outsider he can be excused for feeling a faint impatience with those Americans who so quickly forgot that unless President Roosevelt had been able to frighten fear on March 4, 1933, they might not have had an internal economy about the administration of which to complain.

Perhaps the fairest way to present the situation with which the President was faced will be to quote his own words; they certainly do not exaggerate it.

"Those who lived through the months immediately preceding March 1933 do not require a description of the desperate condition into which the American economy had fallen since the crash of 1929. . . . By Inauguration Day the banks of the United States were all closed, financial transactions had ceased, business and industry had sunk to their lowest levels. The widespread unemployment which accompanied the collapse had created a genuine feeling of utter



THE SUPREME COURT IN SESSION

Drawing by Cesare from *New York Times Magazine*, January 1927

helplessness. I sought principally . . . to banish, so far as possible, the fear of the present and of the future which held the American people and the American spirit in its grasp."

It may be hazarded that President Roosevelt could say now of that August of 1921 when he was waiting for the doctor's verdict, "I sought principally to banish, so far as possible, the fear of the present and of the future which held the body of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt in its grasp." This is not to suggest any deliberate association of his own condition once upon a time with that of the United States in March 1933. People only do that kind of thing in novels and plays to justify a pattern of the author's weaving. All the same, if he had never had that literally paralysing setback it is open to doubt whether his natural buoyancy would have sufficed to keep himself afloat, let alone a whole nation flung into the water from an apparently derelict ship of State. Remember that opinion had been inclined to call him ordinary not extraordinary, superficial not profound, impressionable not impressive, dilettante not thorough, soft not hard,

sentimental not realistic, and so on in the way opinion has when it is confronted by something that seems outwardly too good to be true. He must have settled to his own satisfaction the strength of his own mind and the temper of his own resolution during the years between the moment he first felt his leg lagging in August 1921 and the moment Al Smith, assured by the hesitation in the voice of the man speaking from the Merewether Inn, Warm Springs, Georgia, that he would not refuse to run if drafted as the Democratic candidate for the Governorship of New York, hung up the telephone receiver at the Seneca Hotel, Rochester, New York, in October 1928. Maybe his self-confidence, judged by that incident, was not distinguishable after his illness from what it had been before. What counted was the man's own estimate of his right to self-confidence. That right had been tested by the severest ordeal imaginable. Infantile paralysis had threatened him with permanent unemployment. Infantile paralysis had foreclosed upon the farm of his ambition. Infantile paralysis had made away with the savings of his experience. Infantile paralysis had deprived him of his purchasing power from life. Infantile paralysis had taught him as hard a lesson as poverty itself can teach. He had risen above it to an eminence from which at a moment of crisis to the future of his country such as no President except Abraham Lincoln had been called upon to face he could deny from his own experience the omnipotence of fear and know that not one of his countrymen could taunt him with never having had the occasion to feel it.

"This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country to-day. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyses needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigour has met with such understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. . . .

"In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

"More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. . . .

"Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. . . . Plenty is on our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. . . .

"Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money ; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. . . . Our greatest primary task is to put the people to work. . . .

"In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour—the neighbour who resolutely respects himself and because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbour who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbours. . . .

"We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to . . . discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked in time of armed strife.

"With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems. . . .

"I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken Nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as this Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

"But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

"For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less. . . .

"We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

"In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come."

It would be straining belief in President Roosevelt's powers of improvisation to suggest that the Hundred Days of intensive legislative action which followed the calling of the Congress into Extraordinary Session on March 9, the earliest date by which a member could reach Washington from the Pacific coast, had not been prepared to a great extent during the interval between his election and his inauguration, perhaps it might not be too rash to add throughout the previous year; but presumably it was not until the paralysis of the banks that Roosevelt made up his mind to rush through what is practically the whole substance of the New Deal in a hundred days.

Napoleon landed in France on March 1, 1815; but his Hundred Days are dated from the March 20 when Louis XVIII fled and the Emperor took possession of the Tuileries. Roosevelt had only five days before his Hundred Days began.

On March 5 he convened Congress and gave a brief invitation by radio to veterans all over the country for co-operation in a war "against the forces of nature, against the mistakes and human limitations of man, against the forces of selfishness and inertia, of laziness and fear." On March 6 he addressed a conference of State Governors whom he had invited to meet him at the White House in the expectation of spending a whole day in discussing matters. Owing to the precipitation of the emergency by the banking crisis he had time only to make a brief extemporaneous speech requesting their "help and co-operation." The Governors offered their co-operation without regard to political affiliations, and passed resolutions of confidence in his leadership. A representative committee of citizens sent a letter to the conference expressing their conviction that there was "throughout the Nation a spontaneous spiritual uprising of confidence and hope in our chosen leader."

Among the signatures were those of William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labour, Cardinal Mundelein, Rabbi Wise, Alfred E. Smith, Newton D. Baker, Dr Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, H. G. Harriman, the President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and Walter Lippmann, the publicist.

On that same March 6 the President proclaimed a bank holiday until March 9 and set about the drafting of the Emergency Banking Act, which was ready half an hour before it was presented to Congress,



MRS JAMES ROOSEVELT (SARAH DELANO) (1854-1941)

The President's mother

Oil painting by Douglas Chandor, finished shortly before Mrs Roosevelt's death
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, the President's Room



Mrs ANNA ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Pastel, artist unknown

White House, President's Study

where it was enacted into law on the same day. A proclamation was then made extending the bank holiday until further notice. On the day before March 8 the President had held the first of the 337 Press Conferences he would hold during his first term as President. Press Conferences were nothing new at the White House, but Roosevelt abolished the rule of the former Administration that all questions should be submitted in writing. Stephen Early, who with Marvin McIntyre and Louis Howe made up the Secretariat at the White House, was in charge of relations with the Press. He had been with Roosevelt on the Vice-Presidential campaign in 1920. Editorial opposition to the New Deal has always been widespread and continuous throughout the country, but whatever the public attitude of the correspondents their private attitude to the President has always been in the strict sense of the word decent.

On March 10 Roosevelt asked Congress for a drastic cut in the Federal Budget. He was woken up that night with news of a serious earthquake in California, and within a quarter of an hour of telephoning "set to work all the available resources of the Navy, Army, and Red Cross." He did not believe in entrusting to private enterprise any kind of national disaster, whether it was caused by the banks of finance or by the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

On March 12 the President gave the first of his Radio Fireside Chats in order to explain to the people of the United States something about banking.

"You people must have faith," he concluded. "You must not be stampeded by rumours or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system; but it is up to you to support and make it work. It is your problem no less than it is mine. Together we cannot fail."

The banks, duly licensed by the Secretary of the Treasury, began to open on Monday, March 13, and continued to open during the next few days. Such was the confidence Roosevelt was able to impart in that Fireside Chat that within a very short time the country began to walk about again, monetarily.

The men behind the scenes during that week of the banking crisis worked like men possessed. The Secretary of the Treasury was William H. Woodin, a rich iron-founder of Pennsylvania who spent his leisure in collecting coins, playing the violin, composing music, and writing songs for children. He had been a Republican; but his disapproval of Prohibition led him in 1928 to support Al Smith for the Presidency. He was one of those who drafted Roosevelt for the Governorship, and

kept his promise to raise funds for the Warm Springs Foundation, of which he became a trustee. He was still nominally a Republican when he backed Roosevelt for the nomination, and subscribed to the pre-convention fund. When Wall Street was trying to stop Roosevelt Woodin issued a public statement to say that he believed in him. J. Pierpont Morgan and Company were his bankers, but he had a sound business, and the kind of pressure Wall Street knew how to bring to bear left him undismayed.

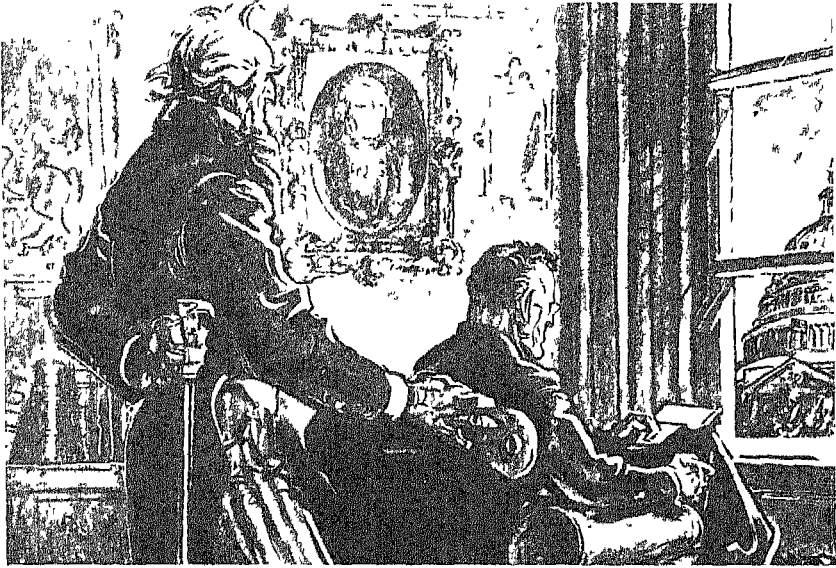
"Yes, the Bill is finished," he murmured when the final draft of the Banking Act was approved. "Both Bills are finished," he added, smiling.

It was true, however. Fourteen months later the little man was dead. He was already suffering with an ulcerated throat when he spent that terrible week almost without closing his eyes, and he spent ten more months working himself to death. "No man in time of war showed greater devotion or gave greater sacrifice than Secretary Woodin. He made a great place for himself in the hearts of all Americans and especially among those who, knowing him, loved him for himself," said his Chief. That was the kind of man whose devotion Roosevelt was capable of winning, and, having won it, of using to the best service of his country. It does not matter which way you look—Catholics or Jews, farmers or industrialists—he gets the pick of them. He has an instinct for the right man in the right place, which, alas, not a single British Prime Minister of this century except Lloyd George has possessed. Moreover, in Great Britain the conferment of office is all too often designed for the political ruin of the recipient rather than the service of his country.

On March 13 the President in a seven-line message to Congress recommended the immediate repeal of the Volstead Act in order to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and light wines. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment would take longer because of the constitutional formalities; but this step was known to be a preliminary.

On March 16 the President recommended the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Fifty representative farmers had been convened by the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace, on March 10 to agree upon a farm programme which would affect the crops of the current year. The Bill was agreed upon by the following day, and the "most drastic and far-reaching piece of farm-legislation ever proposed in time of peace" was passed on May 10.

Henry Agard Wallace, of Iowa, is another of Roosevelt's remarkable men—in some ways the most remarkable of all. He was elected Vice-



"IF HE RIGHTLY INTERPRET NATIONAL THOUGHT AND BOLDLY INSIST UPON IT HE IS
IRRESISTIBLE"

Drawing by Cesare from *New York Times Magazine*, March 5, 1933

President in 1940. His father, who owned and edited *Wallace's Farmer*, was Secretary of Agriculture under Harding and Coolidge. The younger Wallace has raised new high-yielding strains of corn, of hogs, and of chickens. He has developed a system of forecasting harvests from weather records. He has experimented on himself to discover the absolute minimum required for human sustenance, so ruthlessly as to have given himself scurvy in the process. He has written the standard work on agricultural prices. He was a friend of Æ, the great Irishman George Russell, and like Æ he is a mystic. He left the Republican Party in 1928, and in 1932 it was he by his articles and speeches who more than any one man swung Iowa, a traditionally Republican State, to go Democratic. Of Scottish Presbyterian ancestry, he is without doubt the greatest agricultural thinker in the world, and his contribution to the peace of that world should be outstanding. Yes, Roosevelt gets the pick of them.

On March 21 the President asked Congress for the authority to go ahead with the Civilian Conservation Corps. This was his own special item in the great economic programme, and by July 1 three hundred

thousand young men were planting trees, tackling soil erosion, and building up against floods instead of hitch-hiking along the highways or loafing on the sidewalks. Camps of two hundred were formed all over the country, and a proportion of the wages earned went home. Why was no such corps ever started in Britain? After the National Government attained power in 1931 by deliberately creating a panic in the electorate about its financial health and persuading it to have a major operation not in the interest of the patient but of the doctor, various local authorities pleaded for men to be taken off the dole and given such work of conservation and construction; but the answer always was that it would upset the working of the dole elsewhere. When the citizens of the United States are tired of Roosevelt's destructive effect upon their Americanism we will welcome him in Britain.

On March 27 the President took the preliminary steps to get the Farm Credit Administration going. That would have as its first governor Henry Morgenthau, Junior, who would later succeed William Woodin as Secretary of the Treasury.

On March 29 the President recommended to Congress the Securities Exchange Act to protect investors against dishonest company floating.

On April 3 the Farm Mortgage Foreclosure Act was asked for. This was designed to lighten the burden of interest for farmers, and prevent foreclosures.

On April 10 the Tennessee Valley Authority Act was asked for, which contemplated "regional planning on a scale never before attempted in history" for the "general social and economic welfare of the nation."

On April 13 the Homeowners' Loan Act was asked for. This was another buttress against foreclosure.

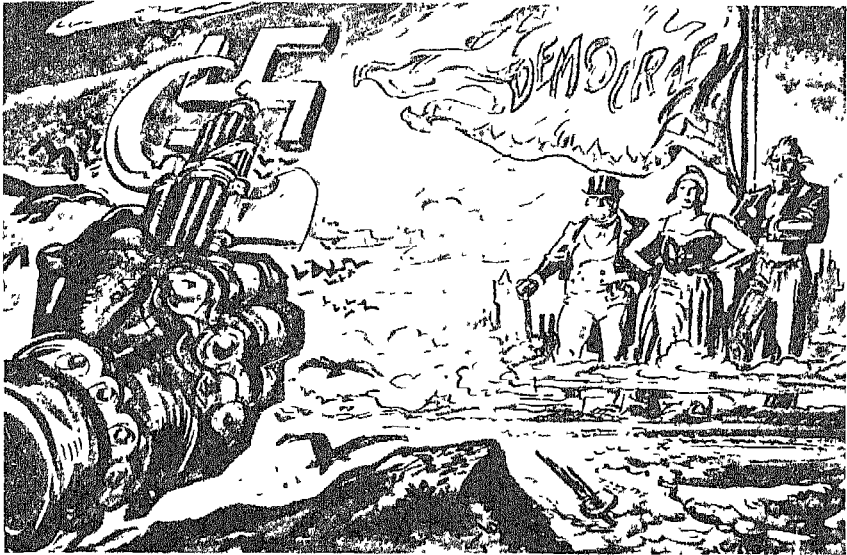
"Where did you get your cold?" one of the newspapermen asked the President at his thirteenth Press Conference.

"I don't know," he replied. "I think I got it from talking too much."

However, that cold did not go to his feet, for on April 20 he took the United States off the gold standard.

There was still plenty of talking to do. The President had invited Ramsay MacDonald to visit him and discuss the problems that would occupy the attention of the forthcoming World Economic Conference in London. The President and the British Prime Minister with their expert staffs conferred every day between April 22 and April 26 and achieved what they hoped was accord of purpose and method.

On April 27 and 29 there was an economic conference with the Canadian Prime Minister, and on April 28 one with Edouard Herriot about French economics.



"DEMOCRACY STILL STANDS FIRM THOUGH THE DICTATORS HAVE ADDED GERMANY
TO THEIR LIST"

Drawing by Cesare from *New York Times Magazine*, May 21, 1933

On May 4 the President asked Congress for the Railway Reorganization Act.

On May 7 he told the country in his second Fireside Chat what he and his Administration had been doing and what they were still planning to do.

On May 12 the President signed the first of his Federal Relief Acts, and issued a joint statement with Dr Schacht, of Germany, about their monetary conference.

On May 16 he sent an appeal to fifty-six heads of the Governments of the world for peace by disarmament and the end of economic chaos. The most impressively sincere reply he received was that from Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands.

On May 17 the President recommended to Congress the National Industrial Recovery Act, and asked for 3,300,000,000 dollars for public works relief.

This last gigantic measure was signed by the President on June 16, when the machinery of the National Recovery Administration was

established under General Hugh S. Johnson. In view of the amount of indignant discussion the administration of the N.I.R.A. would cause it is worth noting as symptomatic of the country's faith in the President that Mrs Christopher J. Collins, Junior, of Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, had her baby daughter christened Nira.

The special session of the 73rd Congress adjourned on June 16 with a warm pat on the back from the President. It was exactly a hundred days after it had opened.

The New Deal had been dealt. Of the President's hand one could say that he had discarded Union League clubs and the diamonds of Wall Street, had established an overwhelming point in spades with a septième to the ace of Agriculture, picked up a quint major in hearts from his countrymen, piqued his opponents, and taken every trick from Congress in a capot that could be laid on the table.

On Saturday June 17, 1933, Mr Roosevelt left Washington for a cruise with his boys in the forty-foot schooner *Amberjack* along the coast of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. On Saturday June 17, 1815, Napoleon, his mind in a muddle between self-justification, politics, and military tactics, was riding through the rain on his white mare towards Waterloo.

During Roosevelt's Hundred Days things were happening fast in Germany, where on March 5 the Nazis had polled 44 per cent. of the total poll thanks to the swing-over of the Catholic middle classes in South and West Germany to Hitler.

On March 13 Dr Goebbels was placed in charge of the newly created Ministry of Enlightenment; and the Communists were excluded from the sessions of the Reichstag, which had been housed in the Garrison Church at Potsdam after the fire arranged by Goering and Hitler.

On March 24 Mr Churchill attacked Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons for hobnobbing with Mussolini in Rome about a proposed Four-Power Pact between Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, expressed his belief that disarmament conferences did more harm than good, and argued that "French military preponderance was the great safeguard of peace in Europe—all the more so after the recent events in Germany." Mr Eden considered Mr Churchill's charge against the Prime Minister was a "mischievous absurdity, all the more to be regretted because it might receive abroad a measure of authority which the House did not give it."

On March 25 Mr Churchill's malaise about recent events in Germany must have been increased by news that the power to make laws had practically been taken away from the President and the Reichstag and



"ATTACK OF THE FUTURE"

As visualized in the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* by Joseph Danilowitz in 1933. Clearly the artist had Ludgate Hill in mind although he added the subway of a typical Berlin underground station.

President Roosevelt urged the nations "to hobble the mechanized forces of modern war."

placed in the hands of the Government of the Third Reich. The bourgeois parties who voted for this abrogation of democratic power apparently did not realize what they were doing, because at that moment Hitler was still technically a minority leader, and so not yet the Government.

On April 1 all Jewish shops in Germany were boycotted, and during the month the Aryan Decrees were introduced, which drove from their posts all Jews except those who had fought in the war.

On April 7 Hitler made Goering his Prime Minister in Prussia.

On May 1 the Nazis took over the May Day Celebrations from the Trade Unions.

On May 2 the Trade Unions were abolished, and the German Workers' Front was instituted, which brought about the dissolution of the Social Democratic Party.

On May 10 an immense bonfire of books disliked by the Nazis was made in Berlin.

On May 17 Hitler declared that Germany would co-operate unselfishly in overcoming the political and economic difficulties of Europe.

On May 18 Hindenburg answered Roosevelt's worldwide appeal for peace by disarmament by quoting Hitler's speech of the previous day.

On June 11 the Austrian Nazis started bombing outrages and declared that Dr Dollfuss was a mercenary of the international Jews and the Entente.

On June 17 Hitler informed the public that the revolution was over and that the time was ripe for evolution. The process began with the opening of concentration camps in which hundreds of the Nazis' political opponents were tortured and murdered.

So much for Hitler's first Hundred Days. His last Hundred Days have yet to run for him their inexorable course.

On June 29 the *Amberjack* reached Campobello, where Roosevelt was welcomed by a group of old neighbours. To them he said:

"I think I can address you as my old friends of Campobello—old and new. I was figuring this morning on the passage of time, and I remembered that I was brought here because I was teething forty-nine years ago. I have been coming for many months almost every year until twelve years ago, when there was a gap.

"It seems to me that memory is a very wonderful thing, because this morning, when we were beginning to come out of the fog off Quoddy Head, the boys from the look-out in the bow called out, 'Land ahead.' Nevertheless, memory kept me going full speed, because I knew the place was the Lubec Narrows. . . .

"I was thinking also, as I came through the Narrows and saw the line of fishing-boats and the people on the wharves, both here at Welch Pool and also in Eastport, that this reception here is probably the finest example of friendship between Nations that we can possibly have. . . .

"I hope and am very confident that if peace continues in this world and that if the other Nations of the world follow the very good example of the United States and Canada, I shall be able to come back here for a holiday during the next three years."

So Roosevelt had not been to Campobello since August 1921. And now after the amazing Hundred Days in Washington he came back here to visit the little Canadian island off the coast of Maine where he had been given the chance to win that victory over fear for his own future, the lesson of which had given him the strength and will, the confidence in himself, and the faith in a Divine Providence to win such another victory over fear for his fellow-countrymen. No incident in the life of a great man is more impressive to the imagination or warmer to the heart.



"FOLLOW THE LEADER"
From *Saturday Evening Post*, 1933

CHAPTER XIII

THE pen may be mightier than the sword, but it is no match for the word when the word is spoken by a Franklin D. Roosevelt. History has not yet recorded a more humiliating rebuke to self-confident reaction than the figures of the Presidential election of 1936.

"In some places in the world the tides are running against democracy," he told his audience of many millions over the air on the night of All Souls, the night before the election.

"But our faith has not been unsettled. We believe in it even more because of our experience. . . . When you and I stand in line to-morrow for our turn at the polls we shall stand in a line which reaches back across the entire history of our nation. Washington stood in that line and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln. And in later days Cleveland stood there and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. And these—in their day—waited their turn to vote. And rubbing elbows with them—their voting equals—is a long succession of American citizens whose names are not known to history but who, by their vote, helped to make history. . . .

"Every man and every woman who has voted in the past has had a hand in the making of the United States of the future. . . .

"And when you go to the ballot-box to-morrow do not be afraid to vote as you think best for the kind of a world you want to have."

The answer of the people of the United States on November 3, 1936, was 27,376,673 for Roosevelt and 16,679,583 for Governor Alfred M. Landon, of Kansas, his Republican opponent, a majority in favour of one kind of a world of all but eleven millions. In the electoral college¹ forty-six states voted for Roosevelt, only Maine and Vermont for Landon.

The Republican Convention had met at Cleveland that year, and one of the novelties had been an enormous thermometer in which coloured liquid registered by its oscillations the volume of applause for this speaker or that opinion. What it failed to register was the pulse of the United States.

The platform drafted for and accepted by Governor Landon and Colonel Frank Knox, the publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, who was the Vice-Presidential nominee, began with a bold affirmation which made the thermometer look like bubbling over :

¹ The whole body of presidential electors from the various States.

"America is in peril. The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity, and their character as free citizens which to-day for the first time are threatened by the Government itself."

This was conservatism's protest against that legislation which had been rushed through in the Hundred Days. This was conservatism's expression of gratitude to the Judges of the Supreme Court, who by a majority usually of six to three had methodically wrecked that legislation by declaring it unconstitutional. This was conservatism's suggestion that American democracy could side-step the twentieth century and lead the world again in the twenty-first.

When at the Democratic Convention held in Philadelphia on June 27 Roosevelt was unanimously renominated for the Presidency he picked up the gauntlet flung down by the Republican champion of political liberty and free citizenship : *135*

"That very word freedom . . . suggests a freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from . . . Royalists who held special privileges from the Crown. . . .

. . . Out of modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks, and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labour and capital—all undreamed of by the Fathers—the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

"There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. . . .

"An old English judge once said : 'Necessitous men are not free men.' Liberty requires opportunity to make a living—a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for.

"For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labour—other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free ; liberty no longer real ; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

"Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could appeal only to the organized power of Government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The

election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended. . . .

"These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. . . .

"The defeats and victories of these [three] years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our Government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England meeting have the affairs of Government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. . . .

"Governments can err. Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales.

"Better the occasional faults of a Government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a Government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

"There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny.

"In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

"I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that : it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

"I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war."

It is worth noting just what *was* happening "in other lands" on that June 27, 1936.

Mussolini had just persuaded Schuschnigg to come to an agreement with Hitler about Austria's future. The plot to betray European civilization in revenge for Sanctions had been hatched in the brain of that resentful mountebank. It was hardly two months since Pagliaccio had beaten the drum on his Roman balcony and proclaimed his burnt-cork Empire of Ethiopia, and now the Italian delegates were being withdrawn from the League of Nations. In Spain within a month General Franco, with promises of help from Germany and Italy, would fly from the

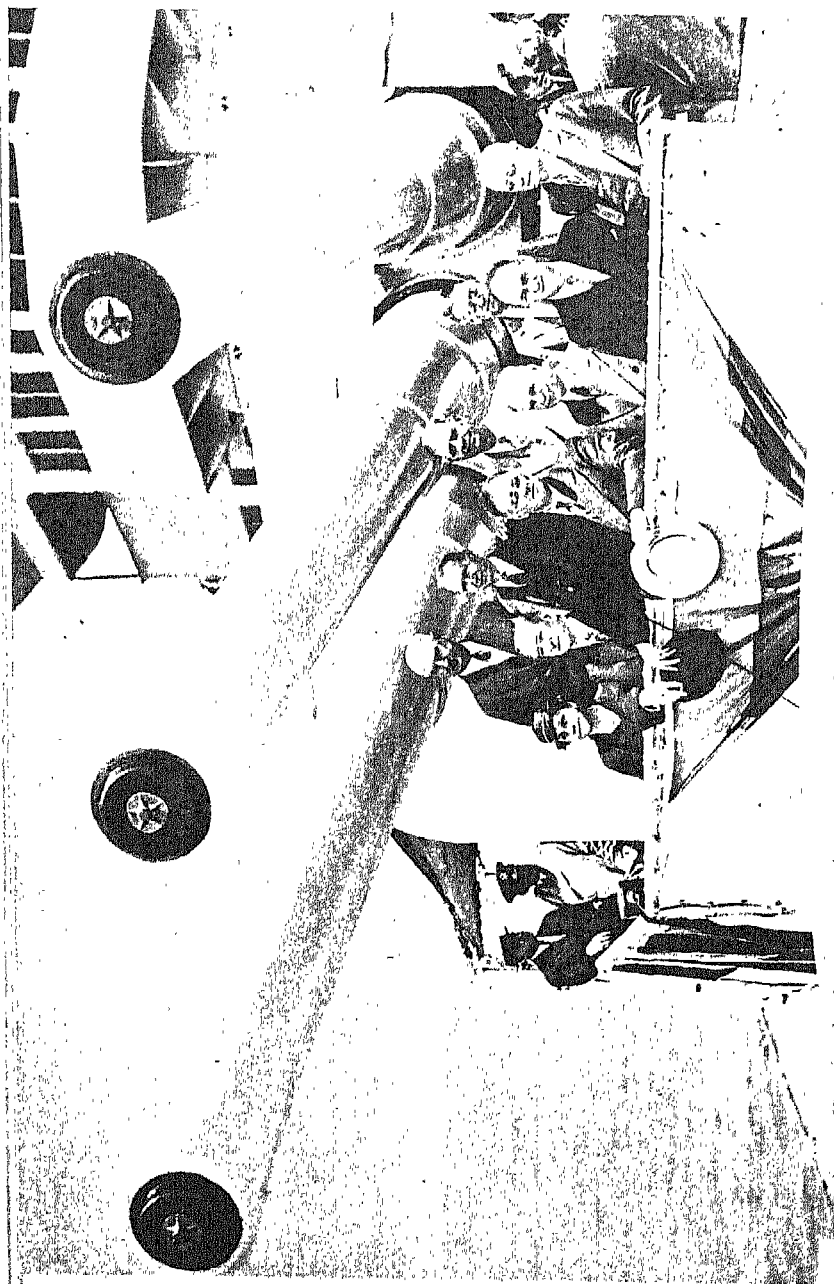
Canaries to put himself at the head of the Army in Morocco and launch the civil war. In Greece General Metaxas was pondering his authoritarian *coup d'état* five weeks away. In Czechoslovakia Germany was fomenting discord. In Germany itself Himmler had just been appointed head of the police, and it had been made an article of faith for the Hitler Youth that to serve Hitler was to serve Germany and to serve Germany was to serve God.

When Roosevelt's majority showed that he was by many millions not the only American democrat left alive in a dying democratic world his opponents suggested that the election had been won by bribing the electorate with the relief funds voted by Congress.

This was the *reductio ad absurdum* of that "spontaneous spiritual uprising of confidence and hope in our chosen leader" to which the pundits of American opinion had pledged their service only four years and four months ago.

The outsider who listens to contemporary American criticism of Roosevelt's iniquities is often reminded of the English peers and country gentlemen that were bewildered and disgusted by Lloyd George's Budget of 1909, a year before Roosevelt had entered politics.

Yet, a New Deal was inevitable unless the United States was prepared to carry on the same kind of fight for existence as the dinosaur and finally become extinct like every antediluvian monster with a huge body and a small head. Roosevelt did not contribute anything original in the way of political thought. If every Bill he recommended to Congress had proved a fiasco when it became law it would not detract one inch from his stature. If the bureaucratic machine hastily assembled to administer those Acts had been a thousand times more wasteful, a thousand times more incompetent, a thousand times more exasperating than it was, his achievement would remain as great. And the reason is that Roosevelt as much as Washington or Jefferson, as much as Jackson or Lincoln, is the instrument of his country's destiny, and the embodiment of the American spirit at a crucial point in the development of his country. The response of the American people to Roosevelt the man was the affectionate response to a favourite son : to Roosevelt the President it was a response to itself. Roosevelt's popularity is proverbial. This is held up against him by his opponents as part of his diabolic stock-in-trade. They fail to see that the more popular a man has always been the less likely such popularity is to go to his head. Woodrow Wilson was never popular. Consequently when he found himself the object for a while of popular enthusiasm it went to his head, although his intelligence recognized the fickleness of the crowd. The reason was that



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET ON BOARD THE U.S.S. "INDIANAPOLIS"

he did not love people himself, and therefore he expected the worst of them. Roosevelt does love people, which, when all is said, is the reason why they love him. Moreover, they are proud of him, as his own mother was proud of him. And, indeed, who would expect either not to be ? To neither can be imputed an irrational fondness. It is ironical that his opponents should accuse him of destroying Americanism, for even the most bitter of them would have to admit that, were what they consider his administrative crimes eliminated, there is nobody better fitted than he to represent the flower of Americanism. One of those crimes is his alleged disrespect for money which led him to torpedo the Economic Conference in London in July 1933 with that wireless message from the cruiser *Indianapolis* :

I would regard it as a catastrophe amounting to a world tragedy if the great conference of Nations, called to bring about a more real and permanent financial stability and a greater prosperity to the masses of all Nations, should, in advance of any serious effort to consider these broader problems, allow itself to be diverted by the proposal of a purely artificial and temporary experiment affecting the monetary exchange of a few Nations only.

High finance, mercifully for the hope of the world's future progress, has never really recovered from that message, and it is doubtful if the great plough of human endeavour will ever again be securely harnessed to the golden calf.

In England they were offended at the time by the President's outspokenness. But the man who sent that wireless message in July 1933 sent the Lease-Lend Bill to Congress in January 1941. The most generous heart could not have devised that plan to help the cause in which it believed unless it beat with the pulsing life-blood of a great and generous people.

A writer who is not American may be forgiven if he leaves the New Deal to be fought over by Americans. As he sees it, it was taking advantage of the weakness of the patient to clap a very hot poultice of liberalism to his chest and insist on his drinking a lot of disgusting physic when he thought he was all right again. The poultice has been described : the effect of the physic can safely be left to the imagination of those who have already been heavily dosed from the same prescription.

What is important is that when the doctor had set the patient on his legs again he believed it was the duty of that patient to give the world the benefit of his renewed vigour and save the democratic future of mankind. Thus it befell that when on January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler became Chancellor Providence had set for his power a limit in

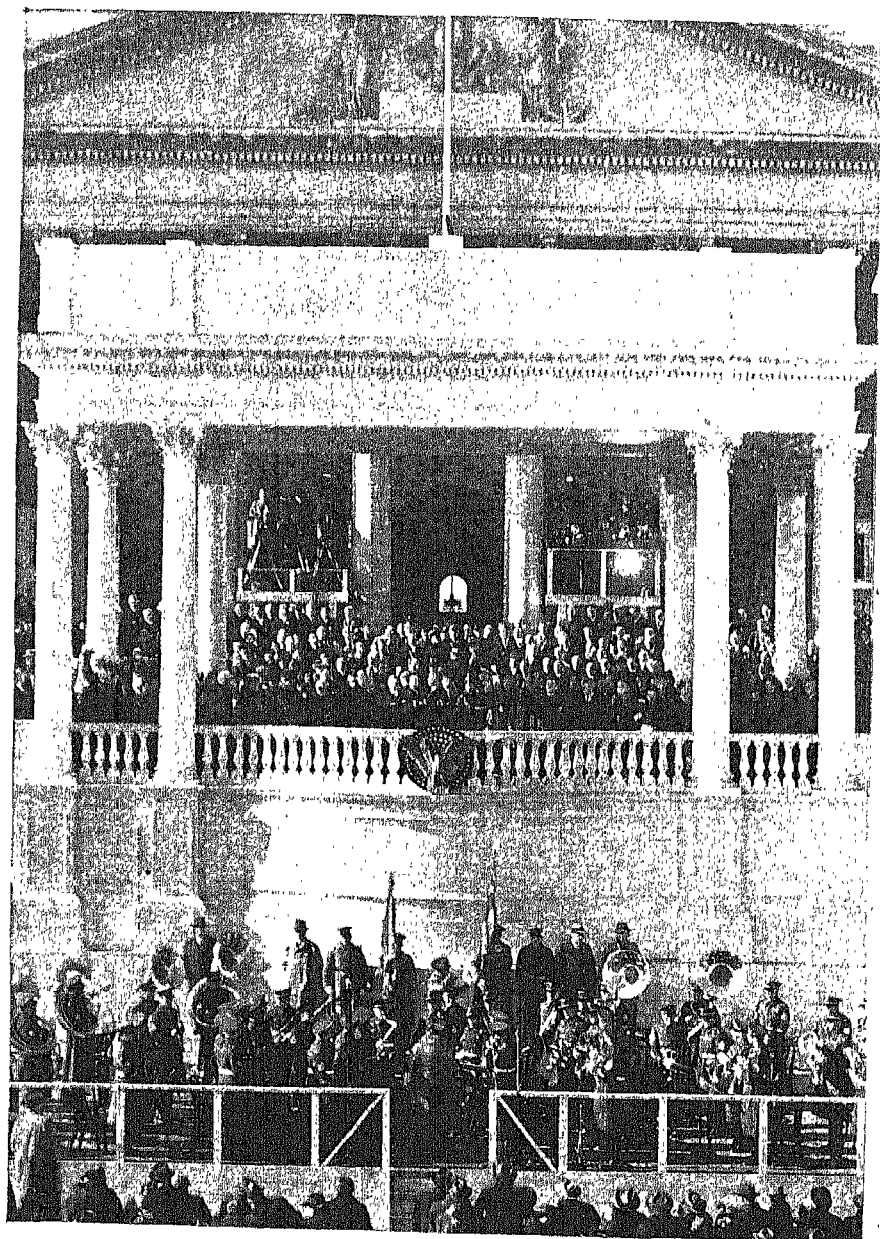
the person of a man who was keeping his fifty-first birthday on that very date. Thus it befell that when Hitler woke up on March 5, 1933, he was already beaten on the morning of his triumph in the new elections by a man fast asleep on the other side of the world who had triumphed for democracy just one day ahead of him.

An exhaustive perusal of President Roosevelt's public utterances leaves the student of his ideas with very few minor inconsistencies in domestic policy on which to fasten and none at all in his foreign policy. Moreover, they are marked with a realism which when apprehended as a whole demonstrates what a formidable political adversary he must be. The particular kind of a blue eye he has generally goes with a hard core. The velvet glove may be unusually soft, but the iron hand within is just as unusually hard.

Never once, so far as can be traced, has Roosevelt encouraged his countrymen to believe that in the event of another mundane cataclysm they could cruise about in an ark until it subsided. That he passionately hoped war could be avoided may be taken for granted, but he never allowed the most eager hope to overrule reason, and it may be doubted if he ever believed war could be averted, once Hitler attained full power. Naturally, when the crisis came, he stressed above everything for the people of America the possibility of being attacked by a victorious Germany; but his refusal to sit on a fence and chew gum instead of champing his teeth at the Axis was held up against him by his political opponents as war-mongering. The isolationist attitude in America was fundamentally the same as the appeasement attitude in Great Britain. It was not so much a desire for peace as a desire to be left in peace. Both failed to appreciate that it was not the future of colonies or raw material or commercial preponderance which was at stake, but the whole spiritual and moral and material future of the human race. It was a long while before either the United States or Great Britain was seriously perturbed about the future of democracy. The people of the United States had been invited by Woodrow Wilson to make the world safe for democracy against the assaults of German militarism; but like so many of the slogans of the First World War it seemed a mere salesman's phrase when the war was over, a lay figure of rhetoric to stir up the public will to wage the war good and hard. As for the people of Great Britain, they wanted no more democracy than the right to choose which set of oligarchs was to rule them, and at one time a good quarter of the country rather admired Hitler. It is all too fatally easy to blame Ramsay MacDonald and Baldwin and Chamberlain *et hoc genus omne* for the mess, but the democracy of the people of Britain was in an



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
Oil painting by Frank Salisbury, 1935
Corcoran Gallery, Washington



THE THIRD INAUGURATION
Colour photograph

anæmic condition during the 'thirties. A country which submitted to that gigantic confidence trick by which the 'National' Government of 1931 was imposed upon it was not in a healthy political condition. Its capacity for moral indignation had been sapped, its will for punitive action had been corrupted.

Winston Churchill since May 10, 1940, and Roosevelt since December 7, 1941, have both enjoyed the prestige as commanders of having been proved right about the kind of aggressive action of which the Axis is capable. Yet perhaps what posterity will recognize as the superlative achievement of the two men may not be their strategic foresight. Roosevelt's ultimate renown may rest upon his ability to infuse new life into a political conception which was in danger of passing into a catalepsy for a cycle of years if not of expiring altogether; and Churchill's supreme title to fame may be his recognition from the first that unless victory could be won by Britain and America together it would not be worth winning.

Roosevelt can offer the kind of life-giving fanaticism that democracy requires, and though it may sound extravagant to couple passion with the golden mean Roosevelt has accomplished the feat. Fundamentally his conception of democracy is the golden mean, or in other words the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Obviously the path taken by men in the pursuit of happiness will vary according to time and place as the goal attainable varies, and Roosevelt's conception of happiness has been influenced above all by the standard of living he believes within reach of his fellow-countrymen in the first half of the twentieth century. His greatest problem since 1933 has been to convince his fellow-countrymen that the happiness they want can be secured only by the sacrifice of some of their cherished American individualism. And it is significant that the most fervid individualists were also the most fervid isolationists.

Whether mankind is happier because printing was invented, because the motive-power of steam was discovered, or because the internal-combustion engine was perfected, may be doubted. What may not be doubted is that God Himself cannot restore mankind to a prior state. Adam and Eve found that out to their cost. Nevertheless, such is the natural acquisitiveness and conservatism of human nature that not even yet is man completely convinced that there really is no device for eating his cake and having it. He expects to drive a sixty-horse-power car but preserve a one-horse mind, and that usually in blinkers. He aspires, without inconvenience to his personal liberty, to benefit from the ever increasingly complicated organism of a world which is to the world of

barely a quarter of a century ago as an orange to a pumpkin. It cannot be done; and one may suppose that by the time the First World War came to an end, and the pumpkin already showed signs of shrinking, Franklin D. Roosevelt had given up supposing that it could. If he had any lingering doubts left they were dispelled on that September day in 1929 when the iridescent haze over Wall Street went with the wind and it was revealed to be as ineffectual an anachronism as the Great Wall of China itself.

If Roosevelt had been born ten years earlier he would have been too old in 1933 to appreciate how much of the past had to be surrendered; if he had been born ten years later he would have been too young to appreciate how much of the past had to be kept. If his ancestry had been other than what it was or even if the State in which he was born and the conditions in which he was educated had been other than what they were his progress might have been befogged by lack of self-assurance and his progressive ideas nullified by seeming to be the product of inferior circumstances. His strength lay in his immunity from the various major or petty frets that gnaw or nag at an individual's ambition. If he desired power it was not to assert himself but to provide other people with the chance to assert themselves. He aimed to become the expression of the old America he loved with so passionate a devotion, not the author of a new America; but he asked of his beloved country that she should be as willing to accept all the responsibilities of one of fortune's favourites as he himself as an individual was willing to accept them.

That the administration of the New Deal has produced much bureaucratic discomfort for Americans is no doubt true, but there are few medicines the administration of which do not cause discomfort. What we are thinking about now is a New Deal for the world, and we may as well face the prospect of the bureaucratic discomfort that the administration of such medicine is bound to cause. But what is the alternative, if Social Credit be left out of the discussion? Either Fascism or Communism. Nazism has been got by Fascism out of Communism, and being sterile like all mules will hardly outlive the last maggot that has swollen itself on Hitler's corpse, unless it goes underground and becomes a secret quasi-magical and subversive cult like witchcraft in the middle ages. Moreover, Nazism is an acute hysteria which is not a permanent condition either of Fascism or Communism. Such a democracy as America may be incapable of curing Nazism; it may want the homoeopathic treatment of Communism. The Germans may require an extra form of bureaucracy such as Communism offers.

It should be remembered that when Hitler made his deal with Stalin in 1939 and thereby assured himself, as he supposed, of the successful domination of Europe before he tackled first Britain and then the United States he discovered no fundamental divergency between Nazism and Communism. Mussolini never accepted an identity between Fascism and Communism, and Hitler saw that he must attack and beat Russia if his German hegemony was to be accepted by the rest of Europe. Many people are still found to wonder why Hitler was so foolish as to turn on Russia. He would have been mad to do anything else with what was at stake, as mad as Churchill would have been when Hitler did turn not to offer all the help Britain could give to Russia.

The world would have been in the same economic mess by 1939 whether in 1914 a world war had come or not. Both wars have been the result of impatient and clumsy surgeons making a desperate attempt to cure a patient, in the hands of physicians who were incapable of diagnosis, by the indiscriminate elimination of his vital organs and the haphazard amputation of his limbs. The cause of the economic mess is that the capability of production has advanced too rapidly for the capability of distribution and consumption to keep pace with it. The wealth of the world has become a cancer, and there has been a danger of death from disordered plenty and misdirected energy. The knife of war is hacking away at that cancer now, but in the process the wretched victim threatens to succumb to exhaustion. By the time peace arrives he is likely to be *in extremis*.

Will Roosevelt still possess the courage, the self-confidence, the wide sympathy and the faith in democracy to confront the world at that moment in the same spirit as he confronted a paralysed United States on March 4, 1933?

It is a fearful responsibility to impose upon one man, but there is no other leader of the United Nations upon whom the peoples of this fearful time would contemplate imposing it. Neither Winston Churchill nor Stalin has the mind or the temperament to offer a world-wide appeal. Both are essentially national leaders of superlative quality. As a Russian, Stalin was fully justified in making that pact with Germany in August 1939; but it displayed a certain indifference to the fate of the rest of the world provided that the security of Russia was thereby established. And nothing that has happened since has given the rest of the world the slightest reason to suppose that Stalin is capable of solving or, to respect his own realism, of wanting to solve the difficulties of any nation outside the Soviet Union. Winston Churchill, who in 1940 was all the Red Army in one man, has made his supreme

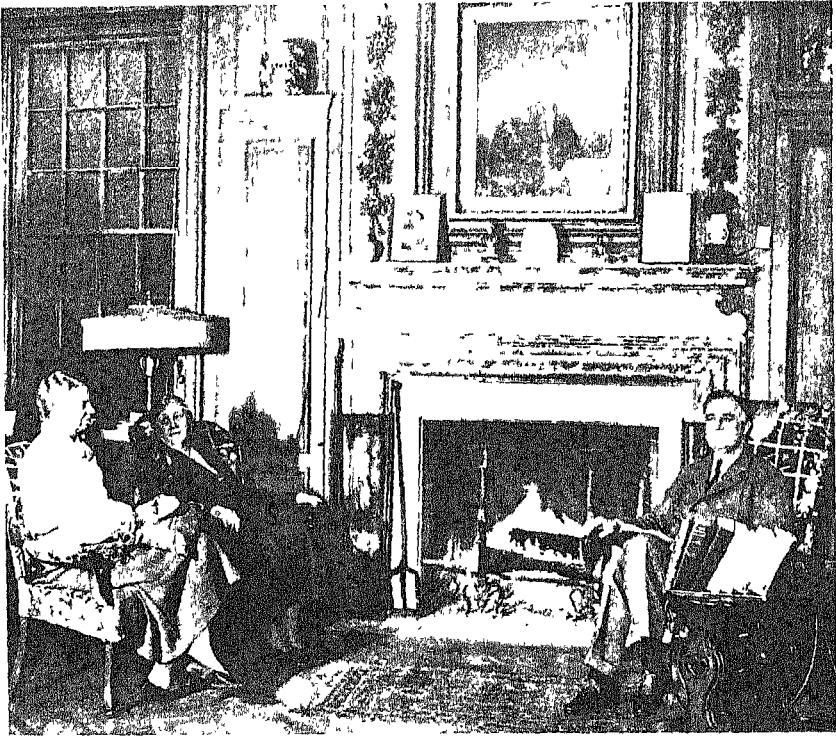
contribution to mundane statesmanship by serving in his own words as Roosevelt's "ardent lieutenant." With a generous sagacity he recognized that the Americans were better able than the British to appreciate the French point of view and therefore better qualified to handle French relations. Both the British and the French think the other to blame for the collapse of 1940. That being the case, it was necessary to turn over a fresh page, and the obvious forefinger to do it was that of the President of the United States.

Perhaps it was the American half of Mr Churchill which enabled him to risk offending English *amour-propre* by the arrangements made with President Roosevelt at Casablanca, as it was the Welshman in Mr Lloyd George who secured the subordination of British generals to a French Commander-in-Chief. Nevertheless, all the evidence available indicates that the two statesmen are in perfect accord, and without venturing to stake too positive an opinion against the immense knowledge at the disposal of a Press in Britain which now keeps to the left as earnestly and anxiously as an old maid driving a small car in a public thoroughfare for the first time, it is surely not extravagant to speculate that Roosevelt and Churchill may be strategically in accord with Stalin too.

The precise shape of the world to come may not yet be discernible in the ruins of cities and the collapse of nations, but it is imperative for the British and the American peoples to prepare for the peaceful restoration of the whole world now. The Atlantic Charter was not drafted on the pond in St James's Park. Isolationism and *laissez-faire* and appeasement have contributed each their bit to the present state of the world, and therefore both peoples share a grave responsibility for the sins of commission they aggravated by their own sins of omission.

No intelligent human being supposes that any plan for the restoration of the world will be effective without the co-operation of the peoples of China and Russia. At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that there are many other, smaller nations whose co-operation is equally vital. Democracy means domination by the people speaking through the voice of the majority: it does not mean domination by a political school of thought which claims a peculiar right to express democracy. The threat to true democracy when, the war over, peace begins is already acute.

An extract from a leading article in the *New Statesman* of February 6, 1943, illustrates the kind of attitude that so much alarms genuine democrats:



F.D.R. WITH HIS WIFE AND MOTHER IN THE LIBRARY, HYDE PARK
The portrait of Isaac Roosevelt hangs over the fireplace.

There is grave danger reflected in the absence of Soviet representation at Casablanca, that Stalin would see in Allied intervention in the Balkans the intention to build a barrier against Soviet influence in an area where, in any case, the population will look rather to Russia than to the Western Democracies. . . . Such suspicions . . . have been increased by events in North Africa : it is no longer pretended that the appointment of Darlan was due to military expediency. It seems rather to have been a part of a deliberate policy of the State Department, which has in readiness various Darlans, Ottos, and other such unrepresentative and dubious personages for the various governments of South-eastern Europe. Exiled Poles, whose bravery and other fine personal qualities often blind the unwary to their total inability

to consider political realities, continuously nibble at the harmony of the United Nations by schemes which cannot be put into effect and which have no other result than to deepen the already intense suspicions of Moscow. The Foreign Office, which in these matters is far more experienced than the State Department, knows well the folly of many schemes which are afoot. . . .

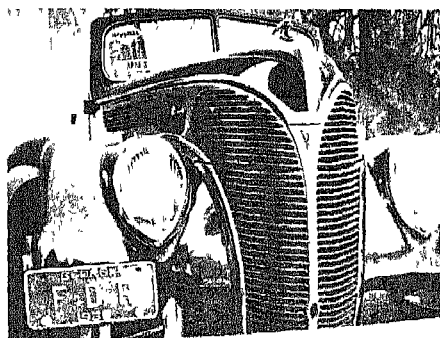
Described astonishingly by President Roosevelt as an "excellent interview," the "explanations" given by General Giraud elucidate a more important enigma than that of the mentality of a professionally distinguished but politically adolescent French soldier. Why, he was asked, had he not purged his administration of Vichyists? The answer was simple, he needed every 'able' man who was now ready, irrespective of his past attitude, to support military action against the Axis. . . . After the war Wall Street may well want to resume business with the Continent. . . . When General Giraud was backed for the leadership of the prototype of all future 'liberated' Governments in Europe the officials of the State Department were acting logically. . . . That President Roosevelt should countenance the policy revealed by General Giraud is only another disquieting proof of the strength of the reactionary forces within the Democratic Party. The Southern anti-New Deal Democrats on whose support Mr Roosevelt relies for his precarious majority are behind Mr Hull and Mr Welles.

If the argument advanced above is to be logically sustained Stalin's behaviour in August 1939 would stamp him as another Laval, and Churchill's attitude toward Stalin in June 1941 would have to be stigmatized as a disgraceful piece of expediency. But is it not wiser to leave logic out of it and be content to admire the magnificent rhetorical somersault by Mr Churchill and the agile feat of mental acrobatics performed by the communists of France, Great Britain, and the United States when Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. transformed what they had been sabotaging as an Imperialist war into a crusade and themselves into a solid phalanx of Peter the Hermits?

It is, or it should be, clear that when the time comes to piece together the heartbreaking jigsaw puzzle scattered about the table of peace one man of pervasive influence will be wanted who can trace the plan of a broad highway and keep its direction steadily in view across the worldwide pattern, without being diverted by the bogs and deserts of the Right or the wild mountains of the Left. The only figure imaginable at a moment when the issue of this immense struggle is still undecided is Roosevelt. He is the only statesman sufficiently unprejudiced either by rigid doctrinaire economics, ethnology, religion, class-consciousness, or imperialism to give the average man, be he European or American,

Australian, African or Asiatic, a faint hope that his case will get a fair hearing.

The fundamental moral concept for which this war is being fought is the sanctity of human agreements, which was expressed by the ancient Greeks in the personification of the Goddess Themis. Much later in Rome, when an orator was allowed to address the people, her image was set in his view to remind him that every word he spoke must conform to truth and to equity. It is significant that when Pope Pius XII addressed the world on Christmas Eve 1942 he declared that the prime need of social life was a juridical order. This was to reassert as a Christian Pontiff the authority of Themis. President Roosevelt stands for Themis. When the Prime Minister of Great Britain offered to embody in a treaty the promise of his country's full resources, after the defeat of Germany and Italy, to maintain the struggle against Japan until victory, the President replied that the word of Britain was enough. This was an avowal by the man speaking for America that he and his country venerated Themis and recognized that she was still venerated by the Englishman speaking and by the country for whom he spoke.



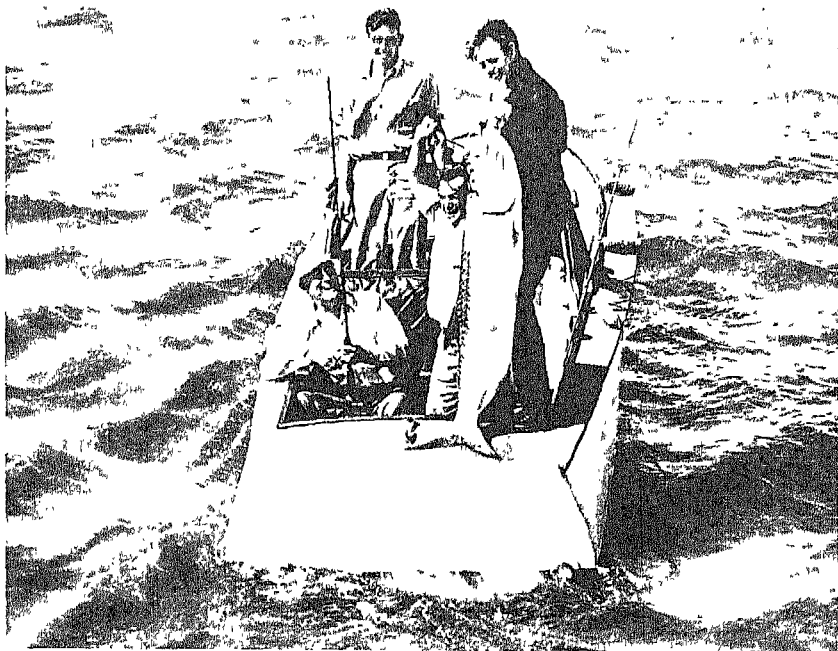
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CAR IN
WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA, 1938

CHAPTER XIV

WHEN Roosevelt was defeated for the Vice-Presidency in 1920 he had been advocating the entry of the United States into the League of Nations; but in none of his speeches did he maintain that the constitution of the League was anything but experimental. He was no more of a doctrinaire then than he is to-day. As he saw it the League of Nations was a step in the right direction, but by no means a ladder to heaven. There is no point in wasting words on discussing the might-have-beens of 1920. The only object of mentioning the League of Nations now is to recall that Roosevelt is not a piece of flotsam from the wrecked ideals of the First World War which has drifted ashore on the stormbattered coasts of the Second World War to be exploited by the ideological beachcombers that infest them. In any case, he was invalided out of politics the following year, and beyond the United States his name was practically unknown.

During those years in the 'thirties,' when Mr Churchill was trying to harden Parliamentary opinion to face what he believed was the inevitable challenge of Germany, President Roosevelt was too much occupied with the complexities of the economic situation and the urgency of social reform at home to play a conspicuous part in the European situation. Even if he had desired to do so there would have been little he could do. If to the people of Britain the power for evil that might be unloosed upon the world by Hitler was unimaginable it was hardly likely to be grasped by the people of America. It is ironical to reflect that a too vivid broadcast on October 20, 1938, could terrify thousands in the States of New Jersey and New York into a wild panic of flight at the notion of being invaded by gigantic shapes from the planet Mars fighting with the National Guard, whereas a month earlier the broadcast from Nuremburg of the bestial howlings of the Nazis acclaiming Hitler's threats to Czechoslovakia had aroused merely a kind of disgusted curiosity. Nevertheless, it was so.

Probably Roosevelt did not foresee a threat to the future course of humanity when Hitler attained the Chancellorship at the same time as he became President. He is not a major prophet; he is the man in the street one turning ahead. Moreover, he is a natural optimist, and we can assume that he really was convinced for a long while that he could keep his country out of the war as a belligerent, whatever happened elsewhere.



F.D.R. AND HIS SONS FISHING, 1937

In his Inaugural Address on March 4, 1933, he declared :

“In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour—the neighbour who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbour who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreement in and with a world of neighbours.”

The orator who made that affirmation bowed to the grave form of Themis at his elbow ; and Themis accepted the dedication of his country. Yet the orator himself did not know that this was a commitment more solemn and more far-reaching than any of those commitments, the avoidance of which would handicap American diplomacy for nearly another eight years because the American people had such a horror of commitments.

In his Annual Message to Congress on January 3, 1934, the President said :

"I cannot unfortunately present to you a picture of complete optimism regarding world affairs.

"The delegation representing the United States has worked in close co-operation with the other American Republics assembled at Montevideo to make that conference an outstanding success. We have, I hope, made it clear to our neighbours that we seek with them future avoidance of territorial expansion and of interference by one Nation in the internal affairs of another. Furthermore, all of us are seeking the restoration of commerce in ways which will preclude the building up of large favourable trade balances by any one Nation at the expense of trade debits on the part of other Nations.

"In other parts of the world, however, fear of immediate or future aggression and with it the spending of vast sums on armament and the continued building up of defensive trade barriers prevent any great progress in peace or trade agreements. I have made it clear that the United States cannot take part in political arrangements in Europe but that we stand ready to co-operate at any time in practical measures on a world basis looking to immediate reduction of armaments and the lowering of the barriers against commerce.

"I expect to report to you later in regard to debts owed the Government and people of this country by the Governments and peoples of other countries. Several Nations, acknowledging the debt, have paid in small part; other Nations have failed to pay. One Nation—Finland—has paid the instalments due this country in full."

Not much here except an expression of benevolent liberalism. The folly and waste of war still seem avoidable by the exercise of common sense. Humanity's way of life is not yet threatened.

In his Annual Message to Congress on January 4, 1935, the President said :

"I cannot with candour tell you that general international relationships outside the borders of the United States are improved. On the surface of things many old jealousies are resurrected, old passions aroused; new strivings for armament and power, in more than one land, rear their ugly heads. I hope that calm counsel and constructive leadership will provide the steadying influence and the time necessary for the coming of new and more practical forms of representative government throughout the world wherein privilege and power will occupy a lesser place and world welfare a greater.

"I believe, however, that our own peaceful and neighbourly attitude toward other Nations is coming to be understood and appreciated. The maintenance of international peace is a matter in which we are deeply and unselfishly concerned. Evidence of our persistent and undeniable desire to prevent armed conflict has recently been more than once afforded.

"There is no ground for apprehension that our relations with any Nation will be otherwise than peaceful. Nor is there ground for doubt that the people of most Nations seek relief from the threat and burden attaching to the false theory that extravagant armament cannot be reduced and limited by international accord."

Europe is still seeming a little remote. 'This is still no more than benevolent liberalism touched with conventionality ; but the peroration which concluded that 1935 message is warmed by gratitude to God for what under Him the American people had achieved during the past year, and that does breathe life :

"It is not empty optimism that moves me to a strong hope in the coming year. We can, if we will, make 1935 a genuine period of good feeling, sustained by a sense of purposeful progress. Beyond the material recovery, I sense a spiritual recovery as well. The people of America are turning as never before to those permanent values that are not limited to the physical objectives of life. There are growing signs of this on every hand. In the face of these spiritual impulses we are sensible of the Divine Providence to which Nations turn now, as always, for guidance and fostering care."

In his Annual Message to Congress on January 3, 1936, the President said :

"This policy of the good neighbour among the Americas is no longer a hope, no longer an objective remaining to be accomplished. It is a fact, active, present, pertinent and effective. In this achievement, every American Nation takes an understanding part. There is neither war, nor rumour of war, nor desire for war. The inhabitants of this vast area, two hundred and fifty million strong, spreading more than eight thousand miles from the Arctic to the Antarctic, believe in, and propose to follow, the policy of the good neighbour. They wish with all their heart that the rest of the world might do likewise.

"The rest of the world—ah ! there is the rub.

"Were I to-day to deliver an Inaugural Address to the people of the United States, I could not limit my comments on world affairs to one paragraph. With much regret I should be compelled to devote a greater part to world affairs. Since the summer of that same year 1933, the temper and purposes of the rulers of many of the great populations of Europe and in Asia have not pointed the way either to peace or to goodwill among men. Not only have peace and goodwill among men grown more remote in those areas of the earth during this period, but a point has been reached where the people of the Americas must take cognizance of growing ill-will,

of marked trends toward aggression, of increasing armaments, of shortening tempers—a situation which has in it many of the elements that lead to the tragedy of general war.

“On those other continents many Nations, principally the smaller peoples, if left to themselves, would be content with their boundaries and willing to solve within themselves and in co-operation with their neighbours their individual problems, both economic and social. The rulers of those Nations, deep in their hearts, follow these peaceful and reasonable aspirations of their peoples. These rulers must remain ever vigilant against the possibility to-day or to-morrow of invasion or attack by the rulers of other peoples who fail to subscribe to the principles of bettering the human race by peaceful means.

“Within those other Nations—those which to-day must bear the primary, definite responsibility for jeopardizing world peace—what hope lies? To say the least, there are grounds for pessimism. It is idle for us or for others to preach that the masses of the people who constitute those Nations which are dominated by the twin spirits of autocracy and aggression, are out of sympathy with their rulers, that they are allowed no opportunity to express themselves, that they would change things if they could.

“That, unfortunately, is not so clear. It might be true that the masses of the people in those Nations would change the policies of their Governments if they could be allowed full freedom and full access to the processes of democratic Government as we understand them. But they do not have that access; lacking it they follow blindly and fervently the lead of those who seek autocratic power.

“Nations seeking expansion, seeking the rectification of injustices springing from former wars, or seeking outlets for trade, for population or even for their own peaceful contributions to the progress of civilization, fail to demonstrate that patience necessary to attain reasonable and legitimate objectives by peaceful negotiation or by an appeal to the finer instincts of world justice.

“They have therefore impatiently reverted to the old belief in the law of the sword, or to the fantastic conception that they, and they alone, are chosen to fulfill a mission and that all the others among the billion and a half human beings in the world must and shall learn from and be subject to them.

“I recognize and you will recognize that these words which I have chosen with deliberation will not prove popular in any Nation that chooses to fit this shoe to its foot. Such sentiments, however, will find sympathy and understanding in those Nations where the people themselves are honestly desirous of peace but must constantly align themselves on one side or the other in the kaleidoscopic jockeying for position which is characteristic of European and Asiatic relations



F.D.R. SPEAKING AT THE HYDE PARK LIBRARY ON OPENING DAY

to-day. For the peace-loving Nations, and there are many of them, find that their very identity depends on their moving and moving again on the chessboard of international politics. . . .

"As a consistent part of a clear policy, the United States is following a twofold neutrality toward any and all Nations which engage in wars that are not of immediate concern to the Americas. First, we decline to encourage the prosecution of war by permitting belligerents to obtain arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States. Second, we seek to discourage the use by belligerent Nations of any and all American products calculated to facilitate the prosecution of a war in quantities over and above our normal exports of them in time of peace. . . .

"I realize that I have emphasized to you the gravity of the situation which confronts the people of the world. This emphasis is justified because of its importance to civilization and therefore to the United States. Peace is jeopardized by the few and not by the many. Peace is threatened by those who seek selfish power. The world has witnessed similar eras—as in the days when petty kings and feudal barons were changing the map of Europe every fortnight, or when

great emperors and great kings were engaged in a mad scramble for colonial empire.

"We hope that we are not again at the threshold of such an era. But if face it we must, then the United States and the rest of the Americas can play but one rôle : through a well-ordered neutrality to do naught to encourage the contest, through adequate defence to save ourselves from embroilment and attack, and through example and all legitimate encouragement and assistance to persuade other Nations to return to the ways of peace and goodwill.

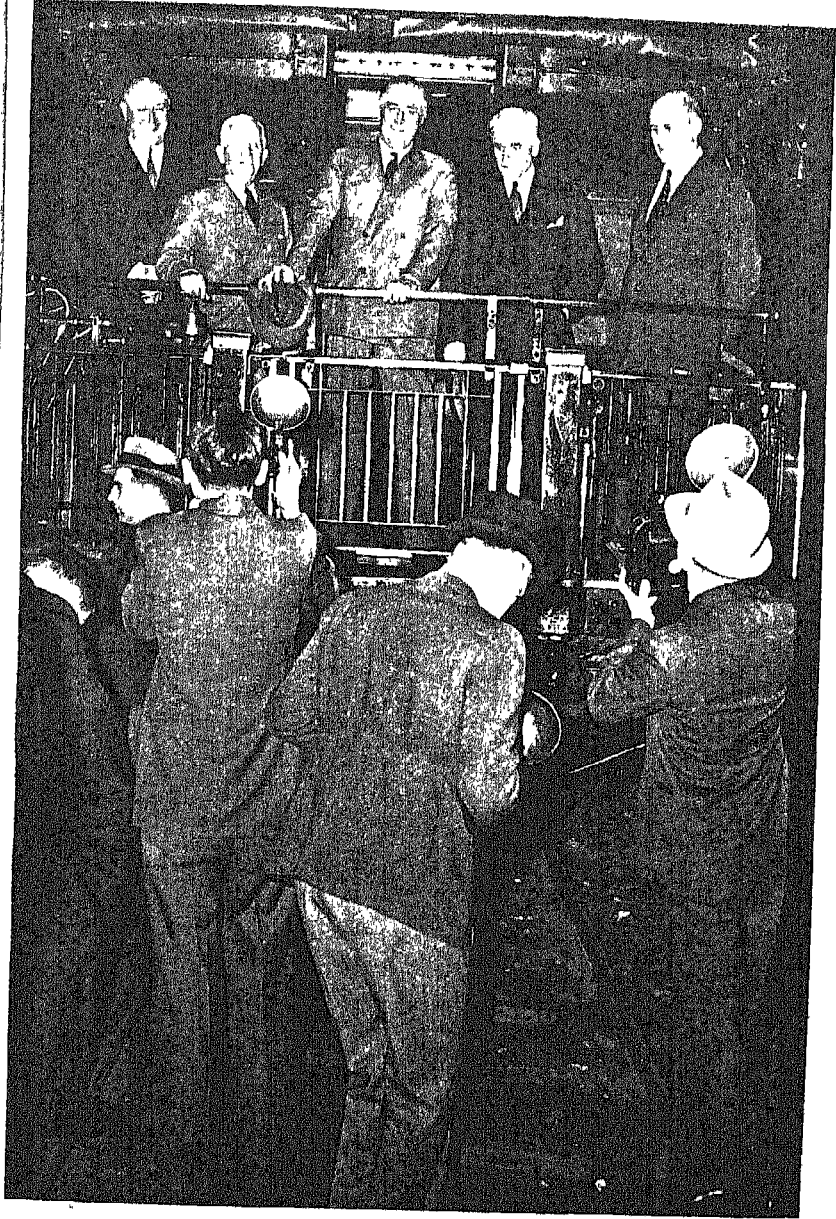
"The evidence before us clearly proves that autocracy in world affairs endangers peace and that such threats do not spring from those Nations devoted to the democratic ideal. If this be true in world affairs, it should have the greatest weight in the determination of domestic policies."

It will be observed that the President is devoting far more words to foreign affairs than in his previous message. It does not look as if he were yet perfectly clear in his own mind about the real danger of Hitler's influence. To him it still seems an opposition between autocracy and democracy. He does not appear to realize yet that a creature like Hitler is the expression of a diseased national spirit. He seems to think that he has imposed himself from without instead of being spewed out like ectoplasm to materialize in evil.

The President went on to use the revival of autocracy in Europe as a warning example against the domination of the American people by financial and industrial groups ; but there is really no fruitful comparison to be drawn. He is still seeking to express a benevolent liberalism both in foreign and domestic affairs, and in doing so he may have unwittingly encouraged Hitler to believe that the American democracy was in a similar condition of lethargy to the British democracy over the spread of his influence. That denunciation of feudal barons and petty kings is the Rosinante of American rhetoric and turns even a Roosevelt into a tilter at windmills. It was an ineffective parallel, and it helped to preserve for America the illusion that the trend in Europe was a retrograde step to a state of society which had been outlived instead of a move toward a deliberate degradation of society which had never yet been attempted.

In his Annual Message to Congress on January 6, 1937, the President hardly alluded to foreign affairs beyond observing : "In oligarchies militarism has leapt forward, while in those Nations which have retained democracy, militarism has waned."

It is difficult to escape a conviction that the President, after his overwhelming victory at the polls, was completely preoccupied with his



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT LEAVING FOR GEORGIA

intention to fight the United States Supreme Court, which by now he was considering a very dangerous oligarchy. No attempt will be made to intrude upon that controversy.

Nor were foreign affairs mentioned in the President's Second Inaugural Address on January 20, 1937, and it was not until October 5 that at Chicago he suddenly spoke out :

"I am compelled and you are compelled, nevertheless, to look ahead. The peace, the freedom, and the security of ninety per cent. of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining ten per cent. who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the ninety per cent. who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way to make their will prevail.

"The situation is definitely of universal concern. The questions involved relate not merely to violations of specific provisions of particular treaties ; they are questions of war and of peace, of international law and especially of principles of humanity. It is true that they involve definite violations of agreement, and especially of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and the Nine-Power Treaty. But they also involve problems of world economy, world security, and world humanity. It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances ; but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honouring sanctity of treaties, of respecting the rights and liberties of others, and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

"It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

"When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease."

This speech, which came to be known as the Quarantine Speech, alarmed a vast body of American opinion. The President was frisked at his Press Conference the following day in order to find out if he had sanctions or the repeal of the Neutrality Act up his sleeve. Ernest K. Lindley was particularly searching :

Lindley. You say, then, there isn't any conflict between what you outline and the Neutrality Act. They seem to be on opposite poles to me, and your assertion does not enlighten me.

The President. Put your thinking-cap on, Ernest.

Lindley. I have been for some years. They seem to be at opposite poles. How can you be neutral if you are going to align yourself with one group of nations ?

It was clear that on this occasion the man in the street was a good deal farther than one turning ahead. In fact, he was out of sight of his fellows and had to mark time for nearly a year with the platitudes of benevolent liberalism. However, in spite of the isolationist alarm he aroused, the President had no difficulty in getting Congress to accept a building programme for the Navy larger than any asked for hitherto in peace ; and whatever criticism his Quarantine Speech may have provoked at the time, he can point now to one lighthouse of a sentence he built in Chicago on that October day :

“Let no one imagine that America will escape, that America may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization.”

It was said above that Roosevelt was not a major prophet ; but that blazing ray piercing the future fifty months away was not cast by the electric torch of the man in the street one turning ahead. It was the vision of a seer.

In the Annual Message to Congress on January 3, 1938, there was hardly any reference to foreign affairs except a few generalizations about America's love of peace of which proof had been given only a week or two earlier in the acceptance of the Japanese apologies for bombing the *Panay*. It was beginning to look as if the United States would pursue the same policy of appeasement in the Far East as Great Britain was trying out with Germany. And there is no doubt that to the peoples of both countries such a policy was as grateful and comforting as Epp's Cocoa to the Victorians. Nevertheless, a proposal to add an Amendment to the Constitution by which a referendum by popular vote should be taken “as a prerequisite for a declaration of war” was sat on heavily by the President in a letter to the Speaker on January 6, and no more was heard of it. One speculates, without malice, upon the loyalty of the citizens of the United States to their Constitution if such an Amendment had been added to it before December 7, 1941.

If British behaviour at Munich was an inglorious chapter in their history, the American attitude was little better than a feeble footnote to it, and some of the exasperation of American newspaper comment on Chamberlain may have come from a disquieting sense of being stage supers during the ignominious performance.



THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY, CHRISTMAS 1939

The President's two appeals to Hitler and his confidential appeal to Mussolini sound now rather like Alice arguing with the Mad Hatter and the March Hare about their treatment of the Dormouse. There was only one practical offer he could make, and that was his personal services to achieve a final agreement. But that would have been a commitment, and public opinion in America was sullenly against commitments.

The President's feeling of thwarted decency was expressed at his five hundredth Press Conference on November 15, after hearing of the horrible pogroms that followed upon the murder of one of the German attachés in Paris by a young Jew :

"The news of the past few days from Germany has deeply shocked public opinion in the United States. . . . I myself could hardly believe that such things could occur in twentieth-century civilization."

And this was followed up by the recall of the American Ambassador from Berlin "for report and consultation."

And again at the Thanksgiving Dinner which he always attended at Warm Springs he took advantage of his broadcast speech to read a telegram from Eddie Cantor, an old benefactor of the Warm Springs Foundation, which "gives me a thought that I think we are all thinking of :

"May you and yours have a happy Thanksgiving. I am thankful that I can live in a country where our leaders sit down on Thanksgiving Day to carve up a turkey instead of a Nation."

The reader turns over page after page of what Roosevelt has said on every kind of occasion, aware that he is a man of hasty impulses but searching in vain to find an expression of them in words until suddenly he is rewarded by one of those 'indiscretions' that reveal the stability of his faith in, the urgency of his hope for, and the depth of his charity to human nature.

The Quarantine Speech had been one of those indiscretions, and when on August 18, 1938, at Kingston, Ontario, he declared : "The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you my assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by another Empire," that was another.

In his Annual Message to Congress on January 4, 1939, the President said :

"A war which threatened to envelop the world in flames has been averted ; but it has become increasingly clear that world peace is not assured.

"All about us rage undeclared wars—military and economic. All about us grow more deadly armaments—military and economic.

"Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans, now as always. The first is religion. It is . . . the source of the other two—democracy and international good faith.

"Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbours.

"Democracy, the practice of self-government, is a covenant among free men to respect the rights and liberties of their fellows.

"International good faith, a sister of democracy, springs from the will of civilized nations of men to respect the rights and liberties of other nations of men.

"In a modern civilization, all three—religion, democracy, and international good faith—complement and support each other.

"Where freedom of religion has been attacked, the attack has come from sources opposed to democracy. Where democracy has been overthrown, the spirit of free worship has disappeared. And where religion and democracy have vanished, good faith and reason in international affairs have given way to strident ambition and brute force.

"An ordering of society which relegates religion, democracy, and good faith among nations to the background can find no place within it for the ideals of the Prince of Peace. The United States rejects such an ordering, and retains its ancient faith.

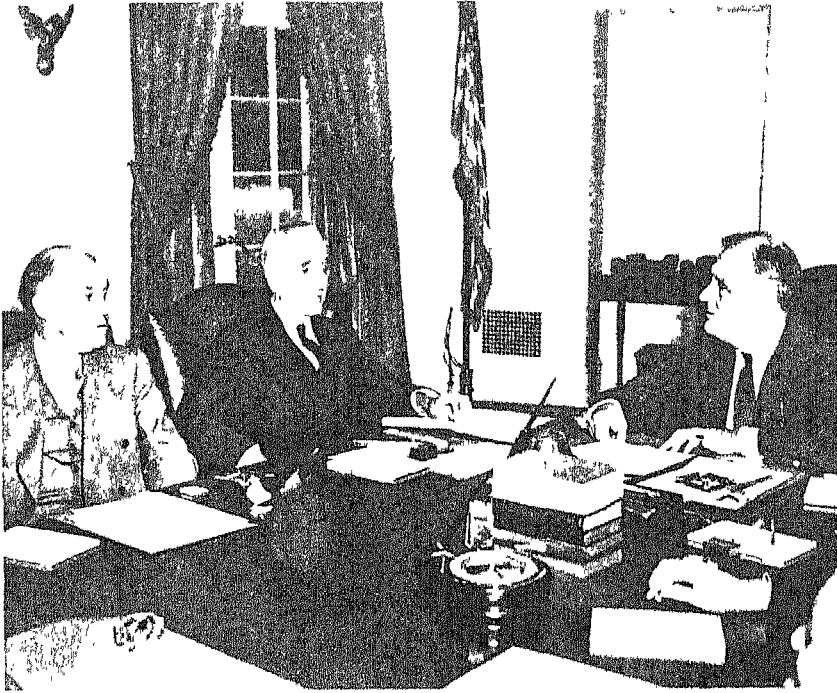
"There comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend, not their homes alone, but the tenets of faith and humanity on which their Churches, their Governments and their very civilization are founded. The defence of religion, of democracy, and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one we must now make up our minds to save all. . . .

"Once I prophesied that this generation of Americans had a rendezvous with destiny. That prophecy comes true. To us much is given; more is expected.

"This generation will 'nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth.' . . . The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which if followed the world will for ever applaud and God must for ever bless."

And once again under the eyes of Themis the President undertakes that tremendous spiritual commitment for himself and his people. True, the rendezvous with destiny was planned to be a peaceful one; but who shall plan for destiny?

After Mussolini's Good Friday assault on Albania following Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia in his favourite month of March, Roosevelt



SECRETARY OF WAR H. H. WOODRING, SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL
AND F.D.R. IN CONFERENCE

decided on April 14 to send Hitler a personal message to ask if he was willing to give assurance that his armed forces would not attack or invade the territory or possessions of some thirty independent nations for at least ten years. A similar message was sent by the Secretary of State to Mussolini.

Neither Hitler nor Mussolini replied directly ; but at the end of the month Hitler made merry with those thirty nations one after another at the Reichstag amid the obsequious chuckles of his audience. The note struck was personal mockery of Roosevelt. Did the President hear the broadcast of that speech ? It may be the merest fancy, but from that date there has seemed a kind of remorselessness in his attitude to Hitler.

The President's first practical object was the repeal of the Arms Embargo on which he knew the Germans were counting because the Embargo told heavily against the nations with sea-power. He felt that if this could be achieved it might deter Hitler from forcing war in 1939.

But the Senate Committee was unfavourable. On July 11 by 12 votes to 11 it decided not to report a Bill. The President and his Secretary of State made one more effort. A meeting of the Senate leaders was convened at the White House to discuss the possibility of overcoming the Senate's opposition. The President tried all he knew to persuade them that war was possible before summer's end. Cordell Hull declared it was certain. Senator Borah interposed to assert his disbelief in war during 1939 because Germany was not ready. Cordell Hull invited him to come along to the State Department and read his cables. Borah was not impressed. To quote the President: "Senator Borah did intimate . . . that his . . . private information from Europe was better than the information received by the United States Government from Europe. The Secretary of State asked him if he intended that as a suggestion that the State Department information was not as good as his own private information. He finally said that he had meant to infer that. It was all in very parliamentary language."

So the repeal of the Arms Embargo was shelved, and on August 5 the President started off uneasily upon his summer holiday. He had just reached Hyde Park when word reached him from Berlin that within the last few days the German Ambassador in Moscow, von der Schulenberg, had indicated to Molotov that Hitler was ready to negotiate a Russo-German pact. In May when Molotov succeeded Litvinov as Foreign Commissar Hitler had suggested closer trade relations between the two countries as an offset to the Anglo-French guarantee to Poland. Molotov told the German Ambassador that what Stalin preferred to trade agreements was a political agreement. At this date Hitler, always credulous of evil, cherished hopes of persuading the Poles to double-cross everybody else, give in over the Corridor, and join him in an attack on the Ukraine. Beck was understood to be agreeable to this nefarious plan; but it was soon clear that it stood no chance at all of being accepted by his countrymen. Later Molotov held off the German Ambassador while Stalin started discussions about an anti-German front with the British and the French. These were entrusted to Voroshilov, the Soviet War Commissar, who had not a glimmer of a notion that negotiations were going on with Germany at the same time; and being completely sincere he was able to convince the British and French Ambassadors in Moscow that there was nothing in the rumour that Stalin was treating with Hitler. However, on August 16, when the Anglo-French military mission had been informed by Voroshilov that Russia would join the front against Hitler if the Poles would withdraw their objection to a Russian army's entering Poland, the terms of the



F.D.R. WITH HIS GRANDCHILDREN FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND JOINNIE BOETTIGER
CHRISTMAS 1939

Russo-German Pact had already been settled by Molotov and von der Schulenberg. This pact was announced in Berlin on August 21, and in London the Soviet Ambassador Maisky, as genuinely incredulous as the British and the French themselves, declared the announcement was a German trick to split Britain and Russia. The Soviet Ambassador in Berlin was apparently as much bewildered as M. Maisky.

The President's holiday was cut short by the sinister news. The worst could happen now at any moment.

On August 24 he sent a personal message to Hitler and the President of Poland urging a peaceful settlement, reminding Hitler at the same time that he had never replied to his message of April 24. Hitler replied now with one of his meaner lies through the German Chargé d'Affaires in Washington. Roosevelt tried once more :

"Countless human lives can be yet saved and hope may still be restored that the nations of the modern world may even now construct a foundation for a peaceful and a happier relationship if you and the Government of the German Reich will agree to the pacific means of settlement accepted by the Government of Poland.

"All the world prays that Germany, too, will accept."

With those last nine words Roosevelt pinned upon Germany responsibility for the Second World War, and this time it cannot be escaped. It is to be hoped that Hitler will be compelled by the terms of peace to sign with a paintbrush the admission of his guilt.

There was another of those 'indiscretions' in the President's Fireside Chat on the evening of September 3 :

"This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well. Even a neutral has a right to take account of facts. Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience."

A quarter of a century earlier President Woodrow Wilson had demanded of his countrymen on a similar occasion of catastrophe neutrality even of thought.

An extraordinary session of Congress was asked to repeal the Embargo provisions of the Neutrality Law and permit the country to sell arms to the belligerents on a "cash and carry" basis. American ships were forbidden to sail in the "combat area," and thus it was hoped to obviate acrimonious disputes over contraband which had been a feature of the First World War. The repeal of the Embargo was passed by Congress on November 3 by comfortable majorities in both Houses. Nevertheless, owing to the course the war was taking, opinion in the United States was hardening all the time against any participation in

it. It was a phoney war, anyway. The Republicans in the East watched every action and listened to every word of the President with bitter suspicion because they dreaded an attempt by him to get the country into war in order to get for himself that unprecedented third term. Dislike and distrust of "that man" were stronger than the sympathy of affluent New England for Old England when Old England was being knocked about. It was in the South that the sympathy with the British seemed strongest, and it was in the South that the fundamental cause of the war seemed best appreciated, in the South and in parts of the much maligned Middle West. In fact, the affluent Republicans of the East were indulging in the Munich mood of the English Conservatives. It was the "isolationist" Middle West which produced that far-sighted and extremely influential committee for "defending America by aiding the Allies." It was the New York *Financial and Commercial Chronicle*, an important Wall Street organ, which even after Germany had castrated Denmark and ravished Norway in April 1940, scoffed at the absurdity of the notion that the Germans would turn on America should they succeed in crushing France and destroying the British Navy. The Communists supported Wall Street as once upon a time friendly Redskins supported the Dutch colonists of New Amsterdam when the Wall was first built to protect Manhattan against that seventeenth-century English Hitler, Oliver Cromwell. On August 31, 1940, when the President was handing over to Britain fifty obsolescent destroyers in return for the grant of certain bases in the West Indies, the organ of the Industrial Workers of the World jeered at his warnings of Axis ambition in these words :

The Nazis are here ! The Fascists are here ! The Communists are here ! The Pacifists, the Isolationists, and Jehovah's Witnesses are here ! Fifth Columnists are everywhere ! There is a spy on every corner, a Red under every bed ! Never was our way of life in more danger than at this Awful Hour !

We have but one true friend left on Earth—England ! Dear old Altruistic England ! Her fleet is all that now stands between Us and defeat, rout, rape, and ruin !

Wake up, America, wake up !

Throughout that year of fate the President guided that immense democracy of 130,000,000 souls as no man has guided a democracy since Pericles guided Athens to resist the Spartan way of life and hold mankind upon the only course that would keep it from turning aside to follow the evolutionary ends of insects. On July 19, 1940, he addressed from the White House the Democratic National Convention



THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY AT THE OPENING OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 1, 1940

which had nominated him as their candidate for that unprecedented third term, in these words of acceptance :

"The Government of the United States for the past seven years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of Government. If our Government should pass to other hands next January—untried hands, inexperienced hands—we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere, including here.

"I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of damage, down to the last minute. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recant the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, or begrudge the material aid that we have given to them. I do not regret my consistent endeavour to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear.

"I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeaser fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and war-mongering. But I felt it my duty, my simple, plain, inescapable duty, to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces let loose in the world.

"So long as I am President, I will do all I can to ensure that that foreign policy remain our foreign policy.

"All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

"We face one of the great choices of history.

"It is not alone a choice of Government by the people versus dictatorship.

"It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

"It is not alone a choice between moving forward or falling back.

"It is all of these rolled into one.

"It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all that we have held dear—religion against godlessness ; the ideal of justice against the practice of force ; moral decency versus the firing squad ; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

"But it has been well said that a selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

"The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, and of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges,



MR AND MRS ROOSEVELT IN THEIR GARDEN AT HYDE PARK

interpretations, and claims. They will decide on the record—the record as it has been made—the record of things as they are.”

And on November 5, 1940, by a majority of five million votes that immense democracy made its decision to leave the wheel of the State Trireme in the hands of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Nine days earlier at a desperate hour in history the little country which gave the world democracy had taken her place beside Britain in the fight for human freedom :

“The forces of the state that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and the Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British and by the Greeks.”

Those words were spoken by the President in his Fireside Chat on National Security at the White House on Sunday evening, December 29, 1940.

While that fireside chat was being given on one side of the Atlantic, on the other side of it the flames of the German incendiary bombs were devouring the City of London. The present writer listened to that noble oration borne across the ocean as it seemed upon the very rollers themselves when they broke upon a long Atlantic beach in a small island of the Outer Hebrides. It was a supreme experience to hear that voice in such surroundings, for it might have been the mighty voice of the sea itself, the chosen music of liberty, testifying to the profoundest inspiration of Great Britain's purpose :

“On September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States of America interfered with or blocked the expansion programme of these three nations—a programme aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

“The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

“It was only three weeks ago their leader stated this : ‘There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other.’ And then in a defiant reply to his opponents, he said this : ‘Others are correct when they say : With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves . . . I can beat any other power in the world.’ So said the leader of the Nazis.

"In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government. . .

"The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

"Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis ; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies. . . .

"Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany, to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day of the week. . . .

"We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war. . . .

"There will be no 'bottlenecks' in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

"The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

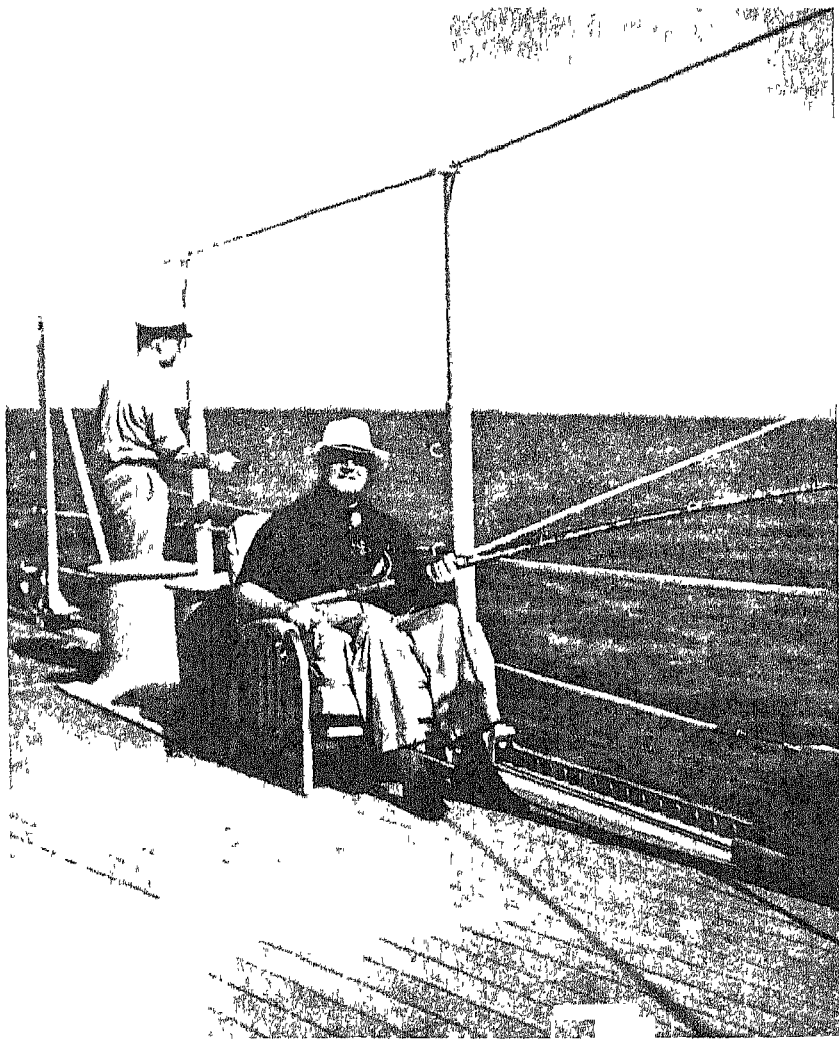
"I believe that the Axis Powers are not going to win this war."

Having thus prepared his fellow-countrymen, the President sent his Annual Message to Congress on January 6, 1941, and asked for the Lease-Lend Bill :

"I ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations who are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

"Our most useful and immediate rôle is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man-power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defence.

"The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they



F.D.R. FISHING ON BOARD U.S.S. "TUSCALOOSA," 1940

must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

"I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

"I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own programme. . . .

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

"The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

"The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

"The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

"The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour—anywhere in the world.

"That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

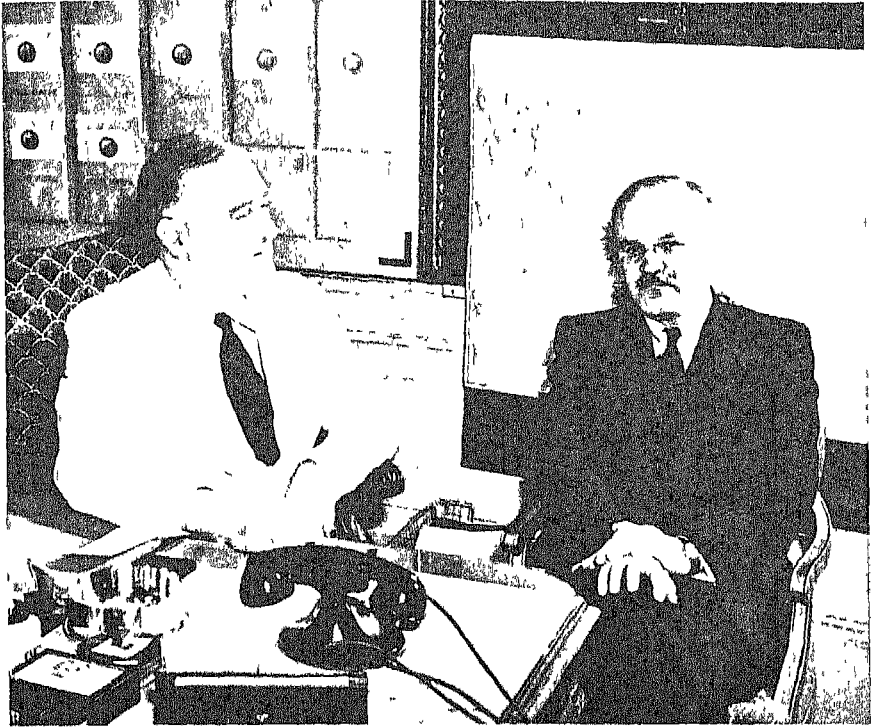
"To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

"Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the co-operation of free countries, working together in a friendly civilized society.

"This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women ; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights to keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

"To that high concept there can be no end save victory."

The Lease-Lend Act after long debate was finally passed by Congress on March 11, 1941.



PRLSIDENT ROOSEVELT AND M. MOLOTOV IN WASHINGTON, 1942

"I signed the Bill on March 11, 1941," the President has written in the ninth volume of his *Public Papers and Addresses*. "Within a few minutes thereafter, army and many war materials were speeding on their way to Great Britain and Greece."

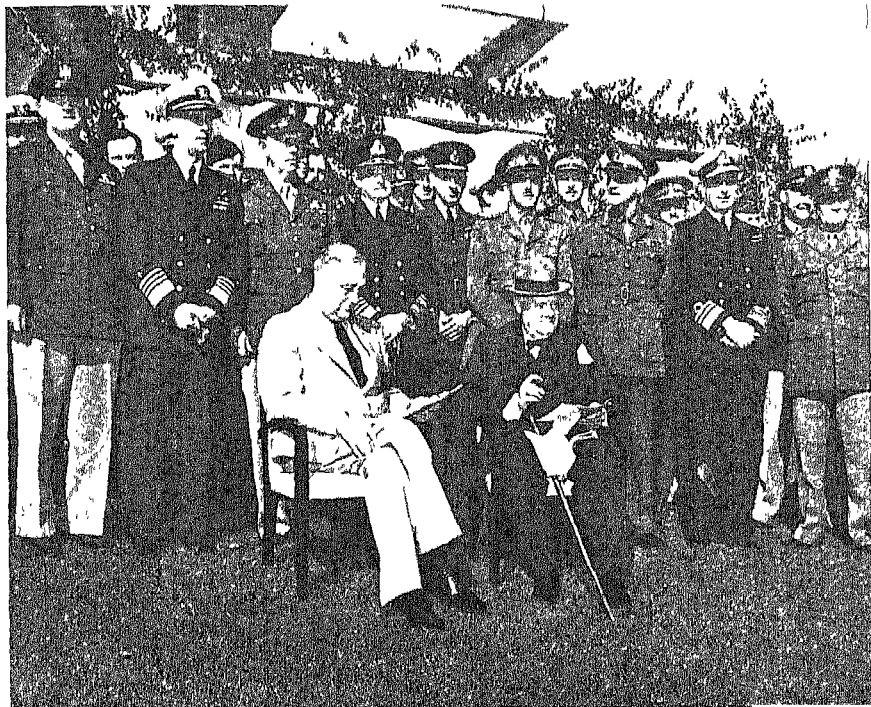
Chapter after chapter might be written about what Franklin Delano Roosevelt has said and done up to the moment of his completing a full decade as President of the United States at the beginning of March 1943; but his progress is not yet accomplished, and a halt must be cried somewhere by the way. Let it be when, within a few minutes of signing the Lease-Lend Act, he sent material of war to Greece. It was not his fault that it arrived too late. It was his intention to help the country where democracy was conceived, to help that Hellas who had taught men how to live and who in that very March when the Barbarian hordes were swarming to defile that sacred soil had just



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND PRESIDENT EDWIN BARCLAY OF LIBERIA AT ROBERT'S FIELD,
MONZOVIA, 1942

proclaimed her will to teach men how to die. And another reason why this point of the progress is chosen for a halt is that the Lease-Lend Act is so practical an expression of the human generosity by which alone democracy can flourish and grow ripe fruits and without which it must rot. It was Roosevelt who asked but it was America who gave, and the word and the action have laid the foundations of a new Parthenon to consecrate a new spirit in mankind.

In the first chapter it was asked if President Roosevelt incarnated that spirit of the two Americas which was the real obstacle to Hitler's evolutionary plan to direct the progress of man for a thousand years ; and then, rashly, it was announced that the answer to that question would be this book's pursuit. After all, the answer can be given only by the people of the United States, with the endorsement of the peoples of Canada and Latin America. The democratic European may recognize in President Roosevelt the most practical exponent of the democratic



ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL IN CASABLANCA, MARCH 1943

ideal in the world of to-day, but in the final issue his effectiveness is at the disposition of his own countrymen. As these words are written in the spring of 1943 the answer waits in the future, and the statue of Roosevelt still incomplete stands at the mercy of destiny's chisel, that destiny with which this generation of Americans has a rendezvous.

Dutch, English, Scots, French, Swedish, yes, and German blood were blended in him three centuries since and absorbed by America as the waters of the Hudson fed by many streams and freshets are absorbed at last by the great Atlantic. It is difficult, it is indeed impossible, for the fancy to imagine the figure of a statesman better qualified by his origins for mundane statesmanship, and it is Great Britain's good fortune to be led at this critical hour by a statesman whose American moiety enables him to appreciate the qualifications of President Roosevelt to the full. The anxiety of the Axis propagandists to present Roosevelt as the covetous enemy of the British Empire is evidence enough of the

despair they feel for their future unless they can smash the fellowship of the two men. There may be another American and another Englishman who would form an equally strong combination : the experiment required to test such a theory seems hardly worth making either for America or for Britain while the present combination is dealing with a mundane condition the threat of which to the future of humanity is of a seriousness without parallel in recorded history.

Roosevelt's good luck balances Churchill's bad luck. No student of their respective careers would deny that good luck to the one, that bad luck to the other. In fact, so persistent was Roosevelt's good luck that it required the test of what at the time appeared to the world a mortal blow to demonstrate that he was a favourite of fortune worthy even of such a test. Churchill's bad luck needs no more illustration than the fact that after Lloyd George's eclipse he had to wait until 1940 to become Prime Minister, while mediocrity after mediocrity was shed like a dislusted plume from the moulting peacock's-tail of British history. Nobody who went through the Gallipoli campaign could help feeling at moments that Churchill was a Jonah : it was not easy at the time to trace the bad luck which dogged the expedition until the extremely competent evacuation to the timorous ill-will of British and French politicians and of British and French generals. Mr Churchill was made the scapegoat. His determination was called obstinacy ; his far-sighted strategy was derided as the grandiose lunacy of an amateur soldier ; his dignified withdrawal from Whitehall to the front line in Flanders was gloated over as the end of a restless and unprofitable career. We hear even now from time to time echoes of that old attitude in criticism of his strategy during this war ; but fortunately in the White House there is a man whose guts have not been desiccated by a lifetime of Whitehall, and that man believes that it is vital for a statesman at the helm in this war of wars to be an amateur strategist. After all, by professional standards Stalin, Chiang Kai-Shek, Mussolini, and Hitler are all amateur strategists. Only the Japanese war-machine is completely at the mercy of professionals, and that war-machine has many miles to go before the final judgment can be passed upon its achievement.

Whatever the cause or the explanation of Churchill's bad luck in the past, the fact that at this critical hour of his own career and of his country's history he finds himself associated with Franklin D. Roosevelt is a lavish gift from fortune of which none will deny his perfect appreciation. In expressing that appreciation by word and by deed he has spoken and acted in accordance with the most profoundly felt wishes of the British nation. Our confidence in President Roosevelt's

ability to see the world steadily and see it whole when he is confronted in the first brief but blessed silence of peace by the boundless devastation of war is profound: the faith in his sense of justice is ardent. And within the experience of the present writer that confidence in the width of his vision and that faith in his justice are deeply cherished by other nations. To them as to Britain he stands for the true spirit of the Americas. They recognize that in domestic affairs his policy may be bitterly resented by a great number of his countrymen; but they cannot believe that Providence gave him the watch to hold for that rendezvous with destiny in order to break the mainspring before the rendezvous was over. It is not merely a belief in Franklin D. Roosevelt which begets that faith in the part he has to play: it is a conviction that the United States is morally bound by circumstance to demonstrate that the phrases of a man born two centuries ago to the day on which these words are written still means all that they meant when he wrote them.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Since those words of Mr Jefferson were first published to the world on the Fourth of July in 1776, no President of the United States has shown more practically than Mr Roosevelt his recognition of the responsibility they impose upon the great office he holds, and through that great office upon the Nation which called him to fill it.

Democracy puts a strain upon the faith of humanity which can become unendurable in hours of disillusionment. Yet democracy, which provides the only rational view of a Divine political purpose, has survived so many assaults from without, so much undermining from within, that to deny the possibility of ever attaining the goal toward which it moves so slowly, so painfully, and sometimes so disgracefully, is to declare all the years of recorded history more useless than a heap of dead leaves and to offer them as a bonfire to the destructive and evil spirit of misdirected evolution.

If at this moment democracy can still be acclaimed as the political ideal of all humanity it is due supremely to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has illuminated the ancient word with his own vitality so that it glows again as warmly upon his lips as upon the lips of Pericles in the marketplace of Athens two thousand four hundred years ago. There are times when to the great comfort of the human soul it is easier to believe than to deny, and for us who believe that, in spite of our mental indolence

which has brought the world to its present pass, we are nevertheless fundamentally fighting for the laws of God, it is difficult not to believe also that Franklin D. Roosevelt's life was designed with providential purpose. The Vatican trusts Roosevelt. Jewry trusts Roosevelt. Tormented France trusts Roosevelt. Greece, glorious in her chains, trusts Roosevelt. Martyred Poland trusts Roosevelt. Dogged Holland trusts Roosevelt. China, risen from a sleep of centuries, trusts Roosevelt. Latin America, so long a suspicious neighbour, trusts Roosevelt. Even the poor poisoned heart of Italy beats feebly for Roosevelt. And we in Britain and the Dominions of the Empire trust the man who, speaking in our common tongue, first gave us the assurance of victory when adamantine Churchill had pledged our honour and committed us to the proud defiance he knew we desired to offer.

Could Franklin D. Roosevelt have won that trust around the whole world unless he were the favourite son of the United States, unless he were the true heir of Washington, the father of his country? Could he otherwise have presented himself to the world with the credentials of a generous and mighty Nation? The answering "no" rings from the Rockies to the Catskills, from Manhattan to the Golden Gate. Trusting in that "no," we British can declare to our American allies that we pledge to them for this war our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour, in absolute confidence that the pledge is as mutual as that given to each other by the Representatives of the young United States on the Fourth of July in 1776



'FALA," THE PRESIDENT'S DOG

INDEX

NOTE—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Theodore Roosevelt are indicated throughout the index by their initials
Heavy figures refer to the illustrations

- AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, 67, 194
Albany, 72, 74, 77, 102, 169, 174, 179
American Construction Council, F.D.R. President of, 149
American Legion Endowment Fund, F.D.R. Chairman of, 149
American Liberty League, F.D.R. and the foundation of, 177
Amsterdam, 18, 19
Antofagasta, 95
Arms embargo, F.D.R.'s efforts for repeal of, 229-230, 232
Atlantic Charter, 212; Four Freedoms of, 29, 240
Austria, future of, in 1936, 204

BAD-NAUHEIM, F.D.R. at school at, 29
Baker, Newton, Minister of War (1914), 97-98, 172-173, 175-176, 192
Baldwin of Bewdley, Earl, 22, 79, 112, 161, 208
Belgium (1914), T.R. on American neutrality, 82, 83
Berle, Adolf Augustus, Professor of Law, member of F.D.R.'s Brain Trust, 180
Bismarck, Prince Otto von, and the Triple Alliance, 15
Black, Van Lear, F.D.R.'s cruise with, 127
Borah, Senator, and the repeal of the arms embargo, 230
Boston, 38, 115
Brain Trust, F.D.R.'s, 179-180
Brest, 98, 99, 112
Bryan, W. J., Secretary of State, 35, 71, 86
Buffalo, F.D.R.'s speech at, 68
Bull Moose Election, 69-71, 138, 173
Bulloch, Martha—*see* Roosevelt, Mrs Theodore
Butler, Dr Nicholas Murray, President of Columbia University, 192

CALIFORNIA, 86; earthquake in, F.D.R.'s action, 193
Campobello Island, 94, 128, 133, 200; the family cottage on, 29-30, 38, 70, 81, 93, 124, 127
Caribbean Sea, F.D.R.'s policy in, 123
Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, legal firm, F.D.R.'s association with, 55
Casablanca, Roosevelt-Churchill meeting at, 212, 213, 243
Cermak, Mayor Anton, 176; assassination of, 186
Chamberlain, Neville, Prime Minister, 22, 208; visits to Munich, 225
Chiang Kai-shek, Marshal, 244
Chicago, 117, 118, 168, 172, 173; F.D.R.'s nomination for, 168
Chile, sodium nitrate in, purchase of, for U.S. Navy, 95-96
Churchill, Right Hon. Winston Spencer, C.H., ancestry, 22

Character and characteristics:
Vitality, 22, 35, 36; oratory, 22, 36; parity with F.D.R., 35-36; effect of, on his contemporaries, 35; a natural leader, 211; bad luck, 244

Political activities:
Change-over from the Conservative to the Liberal Party, 35-36, 54; and the alliance with Japan, 52; McNeill's attack on, 74; as First Lord of the Admiralty, 81, 96; as Minister of Munitions, 94; his difficulties, 100; political convictions (1920), 123, 125, (1921) 129-130; as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 149, 150; as radio speaker, 161-162, and the effect of his voice on German High Command, 188; his lecture tour in U.S.A., 168-169; and the Four-Power Pact, 198; and help for Russia, 211; relations with F.D.R., 211-212, 243, 244

- Civilian Conservation Corps, F.D.R.'s founding of, 195-196
- Clemenceau, Georges E., 108
- Cleveland, President Grover, 50, 59
- Columbia University, Law School, 40
- Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, F.D.R.'s speech at, 180, 182-184, 185-186
- Coolidge, Calvin, President, on the proposed League of Nations, 115; elected President, 125, 139, 177
- Corfu, Mussolini's attack on, 139
- Cowles, Mrs. E.R.'s aunt, visits to, 46, 55
- Cox, Governor James M., 119, 120, 123
- 'Cuff-links Club,' origin of, 123; members known as the 'White House gang,' 123
- Curzon, George Nathaniel, first Marquess, on T.R., 58; F.D.R.'s meeting with, 106
- Czechoslovakia, discord in, 205; Hitler's threat to, 216; his invasion of (1939), 228
- DALL, MRS CURTIS B., F.D.R.'s daughter, 57, 88, 125, 134, 136; marriage, 122; and F.D.R.'s nomination for the Governorship, 125
- Daniels, Josephus, Secretary of the Navy, 75, 76-77, 78, 81, 86, 120
- Dawes, General Charles G., C.B., his Reparations plan, 139
- Declaration of Independence, 29, 183-184; Coolidge on, 146
- Delano, Franklin, F.D.R.'s uncle, 20
- Delano, Sara—see Roosevelt, Mrs James
- Delano, Warren, F.D.R.'s uncle, 38, 80
- 'Democracy,' interpretation of term, 212, 245
- Democratic National Convention, 143, F.D.R.'s attitude and the scene at, 118-120; E.R.'s Committee work, 136; F.D.R. present at, 138; his support of A. E. Smith at, 141, 142-144, 150; E.R. on the importance of women at, 143; nomination of F.D.R. by Chicago, 168; and his third term, 233-234
- Democratic State Convention, E.R. appointed finance chairwoman, 136
- Democratic Women's Committee, E.R. made chairwoman of, 141
- Dewey, Commodore, 30
- Dickerman, Marion, friendship with and political influence on E.R., 135
- Dollfuss, Dr Engelbert, and the Austrian Nazis, 200
- Dutchess County, 19, 20, 56; F.D.R. delegate for, 60
- EARLY, MAJOR STEPHEN, publicity man, 75, 123, 193
- Eden, Right Hon. Anthony, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 198
- Emergency Banking Act (1933), 192
- Erie, works at, F.D.R.'s commandeering of plant for, 96-97
- Europe, state of (1921), 129; (1936) 204-205
- FARLEY, JAMES A., F.D.R.'s campaign manager, 175
- Farm Mortgage Foreclosure Act, 196
- Finland, repayment of American loan, 218
- Foch, Field-Marshal, Chief of the Allied Armies in France, 108
- Forest, Fish, and Game Committee of the Senate, F.D.R. as chairman, 67
- GARFIELD, PRESIDENT, assassination of, 16
- George V, King, F.D.R.'s audience with, 108
- George, Henry, nominated candidate for Mayoralty of New York City, 50
- Germany, forecast of a struggle between Teuton and Slav (1882), 15; sinking of *Lusitania*, Wilson's note on, 66, 88; rebuilding of, as barrier against Communism, 150, 170; Hitler as the solution of the muddle, 185; firing of the Reichstag, 186; events in 1933, 198, 200; and Hitler Youth, 205; Churchill's belief in its inevitable challenge, 216; England's appeasement policy, 225

- Goebbels, Dr Paul Joseph, head of Ministry of Enlightenment, 198
- Goering, Field-Marshal Hermann, and the firing of the Reichstag, 186, 198 ; appointed Prime Minister, 200
- Gould, Jay, 16, 49
- Greece, *coup d'état* of General Metaxas, 205 ; support given to the British by its Army, 238 ; material of war sent to, from U.S.A., 241
- Groton School, 28 ; F.D.R.'s career at, 30, 31-32
- HAITI, F.D.R. in, 92 ; framing of the new constitution for, 123
- Half Moon*, F.D.R.'s sailing-boat, 38, 56 ; sale of, 97
- Hall, Mrs Valentine, E.R.'s grandmother, 42, 99-100 ; death, 115
- Harding, President Warren Gamaliel, nominated for the Presidency, 112, 118 ; his Cabinet, 139
- Harriman, H. L., President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, support of F.D.R., 192
- Harvard University, F.D.R.'s career at, 32 *et seq.* ; editor of *The Crimson*, 36-38, 40, 41 ; Phi Beta Kappa Society and T.R., 40, 97, F.D.R. an overseer of, 125 ; 37
- Hay, John, Secretary of State, 35
- Hearst, William Randolph, 141, 176, 177
- Herriot, Edouard, 196
- Hitler, Adolf, 68, 125 ; Churchill on, 22 ; his ignorance of America, 23-24 ; F.D.R. as his major enemy, 24 ; arrival in Munich, 74 ; appearance and personality, 129, 131, 158 ; revolt against Weimar, 139 ; effect of putting in power, 150 ; utility of, to progress, 156 ; boast of setting world's course for a thousand years, 157 ; and the Presidency of the Reich, 170 ; as the solution of the German muddle, 185 ; as Chancellor of the Reich, 186, 206, 208 ; and the firing of the Reichstag, 186, 198 ; the first hundred days, 200 ; his teaching of German Youth, 205 ; his attack on Russia, 211 ; threats to Czechoslovakia, 216 ; F.D.R.'s failure to realize his true character, 222 ; appeal to, 227 ; F.D.R.'s personal message to, on peace for ten years, and the mocking response, 229 ; further appeal, 232 ; responsibility of, for the Second World War, 232 ; his pronouncement on his power, 237 ; an amateur strategist, 244
- Home-owners' Loan Act, 196
- House, Colonel E. M., 72, 82, 172
- Hoover, President Herbert, and the Presidency, 150, 157, 172, 180 ; on the electorate, 156 ; and the radio, 166 ; offer of help to F.D.R., 186
- Houston, Democratic National Convention held at (1928), 150
- Howe, Louis McHenry, account of, 72, 122 ; F.D.R.'s campaign run by, 73 ; and E.R., 73, 74, 77-78, 88 ; his political education of E.R., 122, 135, 136 ; removal to Washington, 77 ; and the Chilean sodium nitrate supply, 95-96 ; his reactions to F.D.R.'s illness, 132 *et seq.*, 138, 142 ; 137 ; and F.D.R. as President, 159, 175, 179 ; secretary to F.D.R., 193 ; 137
- Howe, Mrs Louis, 77, 132
- Hughes, Governor Charles E., Judge of the Supreme Court, 60, 90
- Hull, Cordell, Secretary of State, and Prohibition, 173 ; 229 ; repeal of the Arms Embargo, 230 ; and the Second World War, 235
- Hyde Park, 26, 38, 88, 145, 160, 161, 167, 230 ; F.D.R.'s cottage at, 87 ; his speech to a gathering at (1920), 121
- INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS, known as the Mugwumps, 50
- Influence of Sea Power upon History* (Mahan), F.D.R. as reader of, 29
- Invergordon, North Sea barrage at (1918), 109
- Ireland, 125, 130
- Italy, attitude to England and to Germany in 1882, 15
- Ithaca, aviation school at, 99

- JACKSON, PRESIDENT ANDREW, 175 ;
as the instrument of his country's
destiny, 205
- Japan, alliance with Great Britain, 52 ;
war with Russia, 52 ; relations with
America, 52-53 ; a secret triple
alliance, 53 ; maintenance of
struggle against, by the Allies, 215 ;
Panay bombed by, 225 ; its war
machine entirely professional, 244
- Jefferson, Thomas, inspiration of the
Declaration of Independence, 146 ;
and the Louisiana Purchase, 146 ;
and the rights of the people, 150,
181, 183, 245
- Jerome, Leonard, Churchill's grand-
father, 22
- Johnson, General Hugh S., 198
- KANSAS CITY, Republican National
Convention held at (1928), 150
- Knox, Colonel Frank, nominated for
Vice-President, 202
- Korea, Japan's dominion over, 52, 53
- Ku Klux Klan, 139-140, 140
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS, Wilson's dis-
cussions with F.D.R., 114 ; Wilson's
speech on (1919), 115 ; Wallace on,
115 ; F.D.R. on, 116 ; election of 1920
fought on, 120-121, 123, 216 ;
British and American votes in the
Assembly of, 123 ; withdrawal of
Italian delegates, 204
- Lend-Lease Act, 206, 238, 240-241, 242
- Lincoln, Abraham, 44, 96, 177, 190
- Lippmann, Walter, publicist, 167, 192
- Litvinov, M. Maxim, Foreign Com-
missar, 230
- Lloyd George, Right Hon. David, his
interest in people, 64 ; and appoint-
ment of Churchill as Minister of
Munitions in Great War, 94 ;
F.D.R.'s meeting with, 106 ; on
Bolshevism, 125 ; his instinct for
the right man, 194 ; his budget
(1909), 205 ; and the subordination of
generals to a French Commander-
in-Chief, 212
- Louisiana, 125 ; Jefferson's Purchase,
170
- Lovett, Dr, treatment of F.D.R., 128,
145
- Lowell, Professor A. Lawrence, 36-37
- Lusitania*, U.S.S., 73 ; sinking of, 85,
86 ; Wilson's note to Germany, 86, 88
- McADOO, WILLIAM, Secretary of the
Treasury, 75, 141, 142, 175, 176, 177
- MacArthur, General, 123
- MacDonald, James Ramsay, 22, 79,
208 ; conferences with F.D.R. on
economics, 196 ; conference with
Mussolini on a Four-Power Pact, 198
- McKinley, President, T.R. appointed
Assistant Secretary of the Navy by,
51 ; his assassination, 52
- Mack, John E., District Attorney,
F.D.R. nominated by, for State
Senator, 61, 174
- Maine*, U.S. battleship, blowing up
of, 30, 33
- Maisky, Ivan, Soviet Ambassador, and
the Russo-German Pact, 232
- Manila Bay, battle of, 30, 31
- Martenzen, Claes, Dutch forefather of
the Roosevelt family, 18-19
- Mayflower*, the, 20, 24
- Mississippi State, financial position,
1932, 169
- Molotov, Viacheslav M., Foreign Com-
missar, and the Russo-German Pact,
230, 232, 241
- Morgenthau, Henry, junior, 121, 196
- Mussolini, Benito, 68 ; and Churchill,
22, 24 ; his ignorance of America,
23-24 ; elected member of Council
of Socialist Party, 74 ; appearance,
129, 131 ; attack on Corfu, 139 ;
initial success of his experiment, 185 ;
Four-Power Pact Conference with
MacDonald, 198 ; and Austria, 204 ;
refusal to accept identity between
Fascism and Communism, 211 ;
confidential appeal to, by F.D.R.
227 ; invasion of Albania, 228 ;
F.D.R.'s personal message to, on
peace for ten years, 229

My Boy Franklin (Mrs James Roosevelt), quoted, 27 and *n.*, 38 and *n.*

NAPOLEON I, 146 *n.*, 169, 192, 198
National Industrial Recovery Act, 74, 197-198

Navy, U.S., F.D.R.'s interest in, 76 ; position of, in 1913-14, 79-80 ; service in, as a punishment, 80 ; improvements in, 81 ; self-confidence of, restored by F.D.R., 81 ; Naval Estimates, 88 ; F.D.R.'s provision of supplies for, 95 ; Marine Recruiting Campaign, 101 ; building programme, 225

New Amsterdam, 18, 19

New Deal, 74, 116, 166, 179, 185, 192, 198, 205, 206 ; editorial opposition to, 193 ; administration of, 210

New Netherland, province, 18, 19

New York City, 19, 64 ; Twenty-first Assembly District, T.R. elected Assemblyman, 48 ; police activities in, 75 ; Roosevelt in, 125 ; Cathedral Fund, F.D.R. as Chairman, 149 ; the Stock Exchange, 171

New York State, 19, 159 ; T.R. as delegate at Republican Convention for nomination of a Presidential candidate, 49

North Dakota, 49 ; T.R.'s retirement to Elkhorn Ranch, 50

O'CONNOR, BASIL, F.D.R.'s partnership with, 145

Osborn, William Church, candidate for Governorship of New York, 102

Ottinger, Albert, State Attorney-General, 157

PARIS, Peace Conference in (1919), 112

Peabody, G. F., 145

Pershing, General J. J., G.C.B., 97

Philadelphia, 96

Philippine Islands, American control of, 53

Plunkett, Admiral, his railway battery, 104 ; F.D.R. to join, 104, 110

Poincaré, Raymond, President of the French Republic, discussions with F.D.R., 108

Poland, Wilson on restoration of, 92 ; Hitler's hopes of a combined attack on the Ukraine, 230 ; Russia's request for withdrawal of objection to entry of her army, 230

Poughkeepsie, 26, 61, 117, 123, 173

Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Rosenman, compiler), 164, 166, 180

RAILWAY REORGANIZATION ACT, 196

Raskob, John, 152, 154

Rome, F.D.R.'s visit to, reason for, 108

'Roosevelt,' pronunciation of, 19

Roosevelt, Anna—see Dall, Mrs Curtis B.

Roosevelt, Anna Eleanor—see Roosevelt, Mrs Franklin Delano

Roosevelt, Captain Archibald, T.R.'s son, 98

Roosevelt, Captain Kermit, T.R.'s son, 71, 98

Roosevelt, Cornelius Van Schaak, T.R.'s grandfather, 19

Roosevelt, Elliott, E.R.'s father, 42

Roosevelt, Elliott, F.D.R.'s son, 88, 125, 134, 136, 150

Roosevelt, President Franklin Delano, appearance of, 32, 42, 62, 76, 78 ; in 1917, 94

Biographical references :

Ancestry and birth, 15, 16, 18 *et seq.*, 243 ; his name, 20-21 ; childhood, 26, 27, 29, 41 ; at Groton, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34 ; early travels, 29, 38 ; ambition to be a sailor, 29 ; efforts to enlist in the Navy, 31-32, 44 ; his collection of books on Navy, 41 ; his knowledge of naval etiquette, 78 ; steers a destroyer, 81 ; at Harvard, 32 ; his illnesses, 32, 72, 88, 109 ; his sailing-boat *Half Moon*, 38, 56, 97

His engagement and marriage (1905), 42 *et seq.*; their homes, 54, 56, 62, 77, 94, 125, 143, 147; their children, 54, 56, 81, 88

Admission to the Bar, 54-55; anxiety for active service in First World War, 100, 102; his partnership in a law firm and other activities, 125, 149; his sailing-boat *Vireo*, 127

Attack of infantile paralysis (1921), 128, 129, 130-131, 132-135, 136, 138; his treatment at Warm Springs—*see* Warm Springs; his help to other patients, 145; his place kept open for him and resumption of work, 135, 136, 138; attempted assassination of, 186; his cruise in the *Amberjack*, 198, 200

Character and characteristics :

Love of the sea and of natural history, 29; general character, 32, 35; a comparison with Churchill, 35-36, 81; on his contemporaries, 35; vitality, 35, 40; effect of sense of social justice, 36, 40; affectionate nature, 36; the hostile legend of insincerity, 36, 79, 114, 175; sense of humour, 40; not a ladies' man, 44, 45; his altruism and egotism, 47; influence of 'T.R.'s career, 47; his oratory, 62; effect of, on E.R., 62; interest in and love of people, 64, 206; and method of dealing with human nature, 81; as card-player, 67, 86, 198; popular appeal, 76, 205; his knowledge, 78; his versatility, 79; self-confidence, 84, 86, 185, 190, 201; acceptance of personal responsibility, 96; as correspondent, 105-106; his consistency, 121; effect on, of his illness, 130-131, 149; legend of the 'stuffed shirt,' 142; and the attraction of land, 147; power to inspire personal devotion, 158, 194; his conquest of fear, 189, 190, 192, 193, 201; public opinion on, 189-190; instinct for the right man, 194;

his will, 201; his rightness for his job, 210, 214; optimism, 216, 219; hasty impulses, 227; his good luck, 244

Political activities :

Early political leanings, 32, 35; politics of the future, 36; delegate for Dutchess County, 60; elected State Senator, 61-62; re-elected, 74; Tammany Hall's opinion of, 66; its approach to, 102; politics his chosen work, 67; his vote for Women's Suffrage, 67; and cleaning up of New York City, 75; appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and his work, 75 *et seq.*; proposed stand for Governorship of New York, 83; defeat for nomination as a Senator a blow to his self-confidence, 84-86; appointed Commissioner to San Francisco Fair, 86

And the first World War, 86; his pre-war work on supplies, 95-96, 100; inspection of American air and naval needs in Europe, 104 *et seq.*; his understanding of the French point of view, 108, 212; visits to the lines, 109; return to America, 109; visit to Europe, object of, 110; comparison with Wilson, 114; speeches on behalf of the League of Nations, 116-117

As Acting Secretary of the Navy, 89; and the New Deal, 116, 117, 166; working by trial and error, 116; and the Federal Budget system, 117; and the Democratic National Convention, 118-120; nominated candidate for Vice-Presidency, 120; his speech at Hyde Park, 121; believed in the West to be T.R.'s son, 122; conclusion of campaign, his present to his staff, 123; the origin of the 'Cuff-links Club,' 123; and the future of the Democratic Party, 138; and A. E. Smith's campaign, 141 *and n.*, 142-144; as Governor of New York, 144, 150

et seq., 157, 158, 164, 179 ; on economics, 146-147 ; and the electorate, 156-157 ; use of the radio, 161, 162-164 ; and the Press, 164, 166, 193, 197, 224, 227, 232, 237 ; the "Stop Roosevelt" Campaign, 167, 168, 170

Nominated for the Presidency, 168 *et seq.* ; on this generation of Americans as having a "rendezvous with destiny," 177 ; his definite plan on election and establishment of a Brain Trust, 179 ; his speech at the Commonwealth Club, 180, 182-184, 185-186 ; and the economic crisis, 186-187, 188-189 ; his activities during his first Hundred Days, 192 *et seq.*, 201, 203 ; his efforts for peace by disarmament, 197 ; on the power of the vote, 202 ; renomination of, for the Presidency, 203 ; accusations against, 205, 206 ; the response to, of the people, 205 ; his conception of democracy, 209 ; addresses and messages to Congress, 217 *et seq.*, 238 ; his failure to realize Hitler's true character, 222 ; the Quarantine speech, 224, 225, 227 ; his warning that America will not escape the war (1937), 225 ; appeals to Hitler and Mussolini, 227, 229, 232 ; belief that war had been averted, 227-228 ; his third term as President, 233, 235, 237 ; Republican distrust of, 233 ; on National Security, 1940, 237 , on the Four Freedoms, 240 ; Axis propagandists on, 243-244 ; British confidence in, 244-245 ; universal trust in, 246

Portraits : 14, 23, 25, 28, 34, 39, 41, 54, 57, 63, 89, 93, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 116, 119, 126, 127, 165, 206, 208, 213, 217, 221, 223, 226, 229, 231, 236, 239, 241, 242, 243

Roosevelt, Mrs Franklin Delano, childhood, 42 ; schooldays, 42, 44 ; meetings with F.D.R., engagement

and marriage, 42, 44, 46-47, 49 ; early political leanings, 44 ; early social work, 45 ; on her dual existence, 62-64 ; introduction to practical politics, 64 ; retirement to Campobello, 70, 71 ; health, 72 ; her work on F.D.R.'s appointment as Assistant Secretary to the Navy, 77 ; character, 88, 89, 100, 110, 121, 185 ; presence at Congress on Declaration of War (1917), 92 ; on the buying of substitutes for the Army, 99-100 ; war-work, 105 ; F.D.R.'s letters to, 105-106 ; visit to Europe, 110 ; and Women's Suffrage, 121 ; her retort to T. Roosevelt, junior, 122 ; her intensive political education under Howe, 122 ; Howe's advice to her, 135, 136 ; her pursuits, 125-127 ; and F.D.R.'s illnesses, 128, 130, 132, 133-136 ; her political contacts, 135-136 ; the A. E. Smith campaign, 141 *and n.*, 142-144, 152 ; portraits, 43, 45, 55, 57, 113, 193, 213, 236

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, F.D.R.'s son, 88, 134

Roosevelt, Hall, E.R.'s brother, 99

Roosevelt, Isaac, F.D.R.'s great-grandfather, 19-20, 30

Roosevelt, Isaac, F.D.R.'s grandfather, 19, 48

Roosevelt, Mrs Isaac, F.D.R.'s great-great-grandmother, 20

Roosevelt, James Roosevelt, F.D.R.'s step-brother, 20

Roosevelt, Mrs James, 20

Roosevelt, James, F.D.R.'s father, account of, 20 ; first and second marriages, 20, 48 ; character, 40 ; political beliefs, 59 ; 27, 49

Roosevelt, Mrs James, F.D.R.'s mother, ancestry, 20 ; on F.D.R., 27, 32 ; on his engagement and marriage, 44, 45, 47 ; her Boston home, 38 ; sale of the *Half Moon*, 97 ; F.D.R. "the centre of her existence," 104 ; readjustment of her life, 121 ; F.D.R.'s illness, 132, 133-134 ; on

- the building of the little White House and his love of land, 147; on his nomination as Governor of New York, 154; 27, 81, 192, 213
- Roosevelt, James, F.D.R.'s son, 57, 88; at Groton, 121; at the Democratic National Convention, 143
- Roosevelt, John Aspinwall, F.D.R.'s son, 88, 134
- Roosevelt, President Theodore, ancestry, 19, 22, 47-48; appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 30, 51, 75; and the Spanish-American War, 30; recruitment of the Rough Riders, 30, 51, 100; nominated for Vice-Presidency, 35, 44; his strenuous life, 40; at Harvard, 40, 48; inaugurated for second term as President, 46; first marriage, 48; elected Assemblyman, 48, 64; his health, 48, 49; reasons for entering politics, 49, 56; Bill for improvement of working conditions for cigar-makers, 49; New York's State delegate for nomination of Presidential candidate, 49; support of Republican Party, 50; and the Mayoralty of New York City, 50; second marriage, 50; member of Civil Service Commission, 50, 59; President of Board of Police Commissioners, 50; method with a German anti-Semite agitator, 51; elected Governor of New York, 52; elected Vice-President, 52; law studies, 52; as President, 52; his second term, 52; political problems, 52-53; and Taft's election, 56; visit to England and honours bestowed on, 58; political outlook, 59; and the Republican bosses, 62; the Bull Moose election, 69 *et seq.*, 173; attempted assassination, 71-73; speeches by, 72; place in Presidential Election, 74; geographical discoveries in Brazil, 82; and the First World War, on Wilson's declaration of neutrality (1914), 82; his point of view in 1914, 82; divergence from Wilson, 86; the sinking of the *Lusitania*, 88; wish to raise a division for the Front, 97; death, 110-112; portraits, 51, 73, 129
- Roosevelt, Mrs Theodore, T.R.'s first wife, 48, 49
- Roosevelt, Mrs Theodore, T.R.'s second wife, 50
- Roosevelt, Theodore, T.R.'s father, 48, 59
- Roosevelt, Mrs Theodore, T.R.'s mother, 48, 49
- Roosevelt, Theodore, T.R.'s grandfather, 48
- Roosevelt, Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore, T.R.'s son, 98; Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 122; opinion of F.D.R. and E.R.'s response, 122
- Roosevelt and O'Connor, law firm, F.D.R. senior partner in, 149
- Rosenman, Judge Samuel I., 180
- Rosenvelt (Rosefield), Zeeland, original home of the Roosevelt family, 19
- Russia, German intrigues in (1882), Skobolef on, 15-16; Germany on Nihilist ideas in, 16. *See also* U.S.S.R.
- Russo-Japanese War, 52
- SAGAMORE, T. R. at, 97; his death there, 111
- St Paul, Minnesota, F.D.R.'s speech at, 170-172
- San Francisco, Democratic National Convention held at (1920), 118; Commonwealth Club, F.D.R.'s speech at, 180, 182-184, 185-186
- San Francisco Fair, F.D.R. appointed Commissioner to, 86; Switzerland invited to send a warship, 95
- Schacht, Dr Hjalmar, money conference with F.D.R., 197
- Schuschnigg, Dr Kurt, agreement with Hitler on Austria's future, 204
- Sheehan, William, F.D.R.'s opposition to his election as Senator, 64-66, 142
- Sheridan (Wyoming), Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Junior's speech at, and E.R.'s response, 122

- Smith, Alfred Emmanuel, Speaker of the Assembly, 74, career of, 102; nominated Governor of New York, 102, 166; renomination of, 122; F.D.R.'s support of, 102, 120; nominated candidate for Presidential election, 104, 120, 141; F.D.R.'s support of, 141 *and n.*, 142, 147, 150 *et seq.*, 158; portrait, 153; and F.D.R. as Governor of New York, 154-155, 159; F.D.R.'s tribute to, 159; his later opinion of F.D.R., 170, 173; and his nomination for President, 172, 175, 177
- Smuts, Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Jan Christian, C.H., 90; meeting with F.D.R., 106
- South African War, the, F.D.R.'s Boer sympathies, 35
- Spain, General Franco and the Civil War in (1936), 204-205
- Spanish-American War (1898), 30, 80; effect of, on American youth, 31, 35; T.R.'s "insubordinate" letter and its result, 51; 53
- Souvestre, Mlle, E.R.'s headmistress at Southfields, 43-44
- Stalin, Marshal Joseph, 129, 130; and the Russo-German pact, 211, 230, 232; as a national leader, 211; and Churchill, 212; an anti-German front with the British and French, 230; status of, as strategist, 244
- Stimson, Henry L., Secretary of War, nominated candidate for Governorship of New York, 60
- Suez Canal, safeguarding of, 15
- TAFT, PRESIDENT WILLIAM H., 56, 69, 74
- Tammany Hall, 50, 64, 72, 74, 83, 84; opinion of F.D.R., 66; mutineers against, 67-68; F.D.R. invited to make Fourth of July oration, 102; F.D.R. offered nomination for Governorship of New York, 102
- Tennessee Valley Authority Act, 67, 196
- Tugwell, Rexford, Professor of Economics, member of F.D.R.'s Brain Trust, 180
- Tunisia, French occupation of (1881), 15
- UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, salute to the Union Jack (1881), 16; isolationist attitude of, 18, 208, 209, 212, 225, 233; political mood of (1912), 54; the two great political parties of, description of, 58 *et seq.*; comparison with English parties, 59; Congress, how constituted, 60; President's Cabinet, responsibility of members, 79-80; hatred of war, 80; moods of (1912 and 1918), 102; the Liberty Loan, 103; introduction of Women's Suffrage, 121; state of (1921), 129; politics in, after the First World War, 138-139, 140; usurpation of powers and functions by Federal Government, 146; Hoover and F.D.R. on the electorate, 156; development of (1943), 157; radio in, 161; and Britain, opinion of (1931), 168-169; economic situation (1932), 186; closing of the banks, 186-187; F.D.R.'s power to reassure the country, 187, 188-189, and its support of him, 192; the Federal Budget, F.D.R.'s drastic cut in, 193; reopening of the banks, 193; taken off the gold standard, 196; possibility of attack by a victorious Germany, 208, 233; the policy of the "good neighbour," 217, 219; and neutrality, 222, 232; appeasement policy in the Far East, 225; F.D.R. and a referendum by popular vote as a prerequisite for declaration of war, 225; participation in the Second World War not approved, 232-233; sympathy with the British, 233; "defending America by aiding the Allies," 233; F.D.R. on as the arsenal of democracy, 238
- United States Constitution, Seventh Amendment to, 66; Eighteenth Amendment to, repeal of, 173, 194; Twentieth Amendment to, 186

United States Supreme Court, 189 ;
F.D.R.'s intention to fight, 224
U.S.S.R., Hitler's attack on, 211 ; his
desire for closer relations, 230 ; a
proposed anti-German front with
Britain and France, 230 ; the Russo-
German Pact, 232. *See also* Russia

VIREO, sailing-boat, 127, 131

Volstead Act, repeal of, 194

Voroshilov, Marshal Klement, People's
Commissar for Defence, negotiations
with Britain and France for an anti-
German front, 230, 232

WADSWORTH, JAMES W., elected Sena-
tor, 84

Wall Street, Manhattan, panic in, 17,
17 ; origin of name, 19, 233 ;
motto of (1924), 146

Warm Springs, Georgia, curative pro-
perties of, 145 ; investigations of,
147 ; F.D.R.'s purchase of and
incorporation of as Georgia Warm
Springs Foundation, 147, 194 ; his
cottage, "the little white house," 147,
148, 154, 157 ; improvements, 150 ;
Thanksgiving Dinner at, F.D.R.'s
annual presence, 227 ; 215

Washington, 46, 75 ; F.D.R.'s home
in, 77, 89, 105

Washington, General George, 19, 205

Westbrook, Judge, impeachment of,
demanded by T.R., 16, 48-49, 65

Wilhelmina, Queen, of the Netherlands,
and F.D.R., 197

Wilson, President Woodrow, 89 ;
F.D.R.'s part in his nomination, 26,
69-71 ; as Governor of New Jersey,
69 ; elected President, 74 ; re-
elected, 90, 141 ; declaration of

neutrality (1914), 81-82 ; and the
First World War, 81-82, 86, 88, 89
et seq., 208, 232 ; position of, at the
Armistice, 112 ; his character and
unpopularity, 91, 112, 114, 205-206 ;
return to America, 112, 115 ; his
mishandling of the situation there,
114 ; later belief in his views, 115 ;
and the League of Nations, 114,
115, 120 ; visit to France, 116 ;
return to America, 117 ; tribute to,
of Democratic National Convention,
118 ; visits of F.D.R. and Cox, 120 ;
death, 140, 179 ; German Embassy
and his funeral, 140-141 ; 144

Winant, John G., Governor, 177

Women Voters' League, 136

Women's Democratic News, E.R.'s in-
terest in, 136

Women's Trade Union League, E.R.'s
membership of, 135, 136

World Economic Conference, London,
196 ; F.D.R.'s message to, 206

World War, First (1914-1918), 74, 81 ;
breaking off of American-German
diplomatic relations, 1917 ; coastal
defence fleet, F.D.R.'s organization
of, 97 ; North Sea mine barrage, his
support of, 100 ; marine recruiting
campaign, 101 ; F.D.R.'s efforts to
persuade the Italian fleet to put to
sea, 108-109 ; plan to cut coastal
railways into the Balkans, 109 ;
North Sea barrage, 109 ; Germany
asks peace terms, 110 ; repayment
of American loans, 139, 186, 218

World War, Second, 150 ; quality of
the peace after, 115 ; collapse of
1940, blame for, 212 ; moral concept
for which it is being fought, 215 ;
responsibility for, pinned on Ger-
many, 232

THE PASSING SCENE

1880 - 1943

SYNCHRONISTIC CHARTS

Drawn by Patrick O'Keeffe

DATES	THE ROOSEVELTS	U. S. A.	GREAT BRITAIN	EUROPE	WORLD
1880-1885					
1886-1890					
1897-1899					
1899-1900					
1901-1905					

DATES

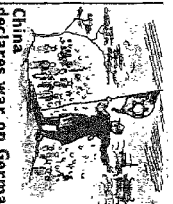
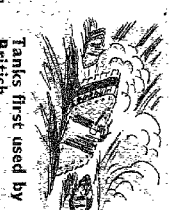
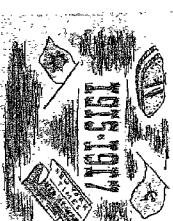
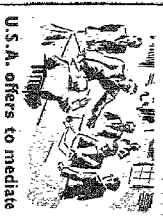
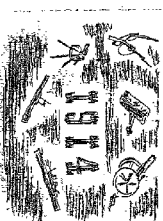
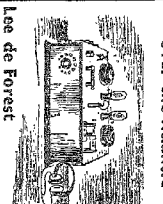
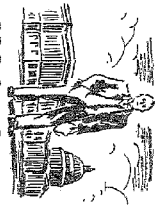
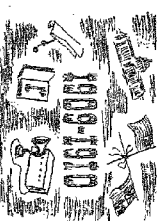
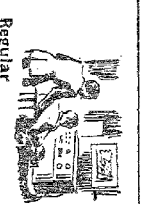
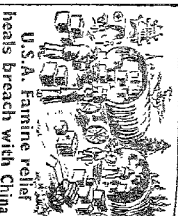
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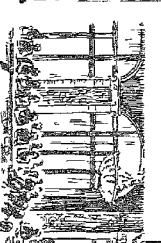


U. S. A.

GREAT BRITAIN

EUROPE

WORLD



DATES	THE MOST FAMOUS	U. S. A.	GREAT BRITAIN	EUROPE	WORLD
 <p>1918</p>	 <p>F.D.R. refuses Governorship of New York</p>	 <p>Great Allied Offensive</p>	 <p>begins Versailles Peace Treaty</p>	 <p>Emperors of Germany and Austria abdicate</p>	 <p>Armistice</p>
 <p>1919-1920</p>	 <p>Death of Theodore Roosevelt</p>	 <p>Congress refuses to ratify Peace Treaty</p>	 <p>Verailles Peace Treaty</p>	 <p>League of Nations forms</p>	 <p>League of Nations forms</p>
 <p>1921-1922</p>	 <p>Eleanor Roosevelt makes her first speech</p>	 <p>Severe Industrial Slump</p>	 <p>Irish Free State ratified</p>	 <p>Mussolini marches on Rome</p>	 <p>Starvation in Russia</p>
 <p>1923-1927</p>	 <p>F.D.R. attends Democratic Convention</p>	 <p>Ku Klux Klan activities</p>	 <p>General Strike</p>	 <p>Hitler Putsch fails</p>	 <p>Dawes arrives in Europe</p>
 <p>1928-1930</p>	 <p>F.D.R. Governor of New York</p>	 <p>Collapse of Stock Exchange</p>	 <p>Churchill lectures in U.S.A.</p>	 <p>Hitler nearly elected President</p>	 <p>Television</p>

DATES	THE ROOSEVELTS	U. S. A.	CLEAR BRITAIN	EUROPE	WORLD
 1933-34	 F.D.R. President	 More than Fifteen Million Unemployed	 Ramsay MacDonald in Rome, Washington and Geneva	 GERMANY: Reichstag Fire	 GERMANY: Persecution of the Jew
 1934-35	 F.D.R. Reviews Fleet in full strength at New York	 F.D.R. Reviews Fleet in full strength at New York	 Death of George V	 Spanish Civil War	 ABYSSINIA: Sanctions against Italy
 1937-38	 Second Term	 Neutrality Act passed	 Preparation for War	 Austria and Sudetenland annexed	 Munich
 1939	 F.D.R. sends message to Hitler	 Arms Embargo repealed	 WORLD WAR: Germany invades Poland		
 1940-43	 Atlantic Charter	 Pearl Harbour	 Battle of Britain	 Fall of France	 Germany attacks Russia

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Verse

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KENSINGTON RHYMES

